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THE
HISTORY
OF
ANCIENT GREECE,
FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES,
TILL IT BECAME
A ROMAN PROVINCE.

✓
BY WILLIAM ROBERTSON, Esq.

KEEPER OF THE RECORDS OF SCOTLAND.

THE EIGHTH EDITION, CORRECTED.

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TO
His Royal Highness
THE
PRINCE OF WALES.

SIR,

It is the importance of the subject of this book, not the merit of the composition, that emboldens me to lay it, with the most respectful humility, at your ROYAL HIGHNESS's feet.

The HISTORY OF ANCIENT GREECE undoubtedly deserves a princely patronage. Of what Prince then may it with so much propriety claim the patronage, as of your ROYAL HIGHNESS, born as you are to be the sovereign of a people, who, by their love of the sciences, and of the fine arts, but chiefly by their generous, manly, independent spirit, bear a more striking resemblance to the ancient inhabitants of Greece than any other people, so far as I know, now on earth?

YOUR ROYAL HIGHNESS, too, is now at that age, when the interesting scenes displayed in this History are apt to make the most lively impression on the mind. When, therefore, you shall contemplate the immortal heroes of Greece, sacrificing their passions to their reason, pursuing the suggestions of honour in opposition to the allurements of pleasure, and courting danger in the service of their country ; their patriotism, their virtue, their magnanimity, will awaken their kindred feelings in your ROYAL HIGHNESS's breast, and inspire you with the noblest emulation.

That your ROYAL HIGHNESS's life may be long, glorious, and happy, is the fervent prayer of,

SIR,

YOUR ROYAL HIGHNESS's

Most humble,

Most obedient, and

Most devoted Servant,

WM. ROBERTSON.

P R E F A C E.

ANCIENT GREECE seems to have been peculiarly chosen by Heaven as the scene on which mankind were destined to display, in the utmost perfection, all the superior faculties that distinguish them so highly above the other animals on this earth. For it is an incontrovertible fact, that, with the exception of a few general notions of some particular branches of knowledge derived to them from Egypt and the East, the ancient inhabitants of that country not only invented, but carried to the highest pitch of improvement, almost all the sciences and liberal arts. The moderns, indeed, have attained to many discoveries which, for the most part, were to those ancient Greeks unknown. But on an accurate investigation, we shall perceive, that some of the most important of those discoveries have been the result of mere accident ; that others have been produced solely by the repeated experience of many ages ; and that the greater part of them are of such a nature that the pure force of genius alone never could have found them out.

In all the polite arts, however, which the Ancient Greeks appear either to have studied or practised, and in every matter of science, without exception, they are universally acknowledged to have excelled. Hence their works in the more

sublime parts of philosophy ; in geometry ; in poetry, eloquence, and every other species of composition ; in sculpture ; and in architecture ;—always have been, and in all probability ever will be, the most perfect models produced by the ingenuity of man. Of this truth the writings of Aristotle and Plato ; of Euclid ; of Homer, Sophocles, and Euripides ; of Demosthenes, of Thucydides, and Xenophon, together with the remains of Grecian sculpture and architecture still to be seen, afford full and satisfactory evidence : and the most approved performances on the same subjects in modern times, are, generally speaking, valuable in proportion to the acquaintance of their authors with those precious relics of antiquity.

But the merit of this wonderful people, as philosophers, fine writers, and artists, was perhaps their least praise. If we view them in the more active and important stations of public life—in the characters of legislators, statesmen, generals ; we shall find greater reason still to admire their virtue and capacity. What other nation in the world can boast of such legislators as Lycurgus and Solon ; of such statesmen as Aristides, Themistocles, Pericles ; of such generals as Cimon, Epaminondas, Agesilaus ; not to mention a multitude besides, justly celebrated for the same talents ?

The country of Greece, though of less extent than that of England, was inhabited by a great variety of different states, perfectly independent of one another, remarkably opposite in their manners

and dispositions, but all actuated by the most ardent spirit of valour and liberty. As those states were pretty nearly of equal force, it became absolutely necessary for them to be attentive to keep the balance of power properly poised, and to prevent any one state from acquiring such an increase of strength as might enable it to enslave the rest. We shall see, accordingly, that this was the grand object of all their wars and negociations; that they put in practice, upon every occasion, the wisest and most refined policy, for preventing the too great aggrandisement of each other; and that they never hesitated to sacrifice friendship, resentment, and every other secondary consideration, to what they accounted the highest of all concerns, the maintaining of the general independency of their country.

The same spirit of liberty enabled them to oppose the ambitious attempts of two of the most powerful monarchs that ever filled the Persian throne, Darius and Xerxes, with a bravery so romantically heroic, as to have no parallel in the historical annals of any other people, and which, were it not attested past all possibility of doubt, almost exceeds the bounds of probability. But not satisfied with defeating in Greece the utmost efforts of those Persians to subdue them, the Greeks, eager for revenge, resolved to push their advantage, and to attack the invaders in their own dominions. This design they carried into execution, first under Cimon, and afterwards under Agesilaus, besides several intermediate attempts; and that with a

success that plainly showed them capable, had they proceeded with unanimity and perseverance, of effecting the grand revolution reserved to immortalise the name of Alexander,—that of totally subverting the Persian empire. The Persians, finding themselves unable to vanquish the Greeks by open force, took a more effectual method to overcome them, in consequence, as we are told, of the advice of Alcibiades, one of the most extraordinary men that Greece ever produced. They studiously fomented the natural jealousy entertained by the states of one another; kept them by that means in continual war, and, in the mean time, artfully assisted them, as circumstances required, with liberal supplies of money, to work out their mutual destruction. But the Persians were not destined to reap the fruits of their pernicious politics, which eventually occasioned their own ruin. For Philip King of Macedon, one of the districts of Greece, profited by those dissensions of the other Greeks, to make them subject to his authority; and at last his son, the Great Alexander, in prosecution of the plan laid down by his father, ranged them under the Macedonian banners, subdued, with their assistance, the powerful empire of Persia, and marched victorious from one corner of the vast continent of Asia to the other.

But as, on the one hand, those Greeks practised, in the greatest perfection, every virtue, whether public or private; and carried to the highest degree of improvement, of which perhaps they are capable, the powers of genius and understanding; so on the

other hand, they gave way, almost in the same proportion, to every folly and vice, whether moral or political. Hence we shall have an opportunity, in the perusal of their history, of contemplating the admirable effects resulting from the former course of life, and the miserable consequences inevitably occasioned by the latter; a contrast which of all others, forms, if we mistake not, the most curious and instructive part of history.

The History of Ancient Greece likewise presents us, more perhaps than that of any other nation, with the most lively picture of the advantages and disadvantages arising from each of the various systems of government that have prevailed in the world, monarchy, aristocracy, democracy, with all the different modifications and combinations of these, that the policy of mankind hath ever devised.

From all these considerations, it must be apparent, that whoever aspires at superior distinction, either as a philosopher or as a man of taste, in a military or in a political capacity, can by no other means more effectually accomplish his purpose than by a careful study of the Greek authors, by an attentive perusal of their history, and by a judicious application of the maxims there explained and enforced.

The former publications on this subject in the English language being on a different scale, as well as on a different plan from the present, the Author

is happily freed from the very disagreeable task of attempting any comparison. Mr Stanyan's History of Ancient Greece, in two volumes *octavo*, stops at the death of Philip King of Macedon ; and that published, likewise in two volumes *octavo*, some months after the death of Dr Goldsmith, under the name of that ingenious gentleman, comes down only to the death of Alexander the Great. The detail of Grecian affairs contained in Mr Rollin's Ancient History is still more voluminous and more diffuse.

Edinburgh, General Record-Office.

INTRODUCTION.

THE continent of ancient Greece comprehended that country which at present constitutes the southern part of Turkey in Europe. It was bounded on the east by the Ægean sea, now called the Archipelago; on the south by the Cretan sea; on the west by the Ionian sea or Adriatic gulf; and on the north by Illyria and Thrace. Its length, from north to south, was about 350 miles; and its breadth at a medium might be reckoned about 250 miles. It is situated nearly in the middle of the northern temperate zone.

Greece may be properly distinguished into six principal divisions. Of these the most northern was Macedonia: immediately south of Macedonia lay Thessaly: Epirus stretched along the coast of the Ionian sea, and was the most western division: Achaia, or Greece properly so called, occupied the middle space: and the most southern division was Peloponnesus, known at present by the name of the Morea, which, as the ancient name imports, formed a peninsula, communicating with Achaia by the isthmus of Corinth, a neck of land about six miles broad: the islands made the sixth division.

The climate of Greece was peculiarly excellent. Equally exempted from the rigorous cold which afflicts the inhabitants nearer to the poles, and from the sultry heat by which those within the torrid zone are oppressed, it abounded with every influence propitious to the human race. The air was sweet, healthful, and uniformly temperate; invigorating without chillness, and soft without effeminacy.

The soil corresponded with the climate. It produced, in extraordinary plenty, not only all the necessaries, but likewise many of the luxuries of life.

The mildness, purity, and happy temperature of this climate, must without all question have had a powerful effect upon those who were there born and educated. In fact no country on earth ever exhibited the human form adorned with such exquisite beauty, nor the human mind animated with feelings at once so just, so delicate, and so acute.

GEOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION OF ANCIENT GREECE.

THE history of no people can be distinctly understood, unless the geography of their country be known. This observation applies to the history now under consideration, more strongly perhaps than to the history of any other nation. For the territory of Greece having been parcelled out among many separate states, their disputes and their transactions with each other, as well as their various military expeditions, form, without a particular knowledge of the geography of the country, a mass of unintelligible confusion.

In another view likewise, an acquaintance with the geography of ancient Greece is of singular utility. It is, if we may use the expression, the key both to the Greek and to the Roman poets, whose works abound with constant allusions to the rivers, the mountains, &c. of ancient Greece. For these reasons, we here lay before the reader a particular but concise description of that country.

Greece, as before observed, was distinguished into six principal divisions, viz. Macedonia, Thessaly, Epirus, Achaia or Greece properly so called, Peloponnesus, and the Islands.

The Romans distributed all the country into two provinces, Macedonia and Achaia; the former comprehending Macedonia, Epirus, Thessaly; the latter, Achaia, Peloponnesus, and the Islands. In our description we shall adopt the more ancient division.

MACEDONIA was bounded on the north by the

Scardian mountains, by which it was separated from Illyrium and Mæsia, and by the river Strymon, its boundary with Thrace; on the east, by the Ægean sea or Archipelago; on the south, by Thessaly and Epirus: and on the west, by the Ionian sea or Adriatic gulf. According to Pliny, it was more anciently occupied by 150 different tribes.

The most considerable rivers in Macedonia were Aliacmon, Erigon, Axius, Chabris, and Strymon, which all discharge themselves into the Archipelago; Panyasus, Apsus, Laus which washes Apollonia and Celidnus on the confines of Epirus: these run into the Adriatic gulf.

The most noted mountain in Macedonia was Athos, which stretches out into the Archipelago in the form of a peninsula. Through this mountain Xerxes is said to have ordered a passage to be dug for the fleet with which he invaded Greece. An instance of egregious folly indeed!

The towns of chief note in Macedonia were Dyrachium, anciently Epidamnus, a maritime town on the Adriatic gulf; Pella, on the river Axius, famous for being the place where Philip, and his son Alexander the Great, drew their first breath; Thessalonica, whither Cicero was banished by the intrigues of the factious Clodius; Stagira, on the river Strymon, in the neighbourhood of mount Athos, famous by being the birth-place of the prince of philosophers Aristotle, thence called the Stagirite; Amphipolis, anciently possessed by an Athenian colony, and remarkable by the dispute which it occasioned between Philip and the Athenians.

The district of Macedonia, called Pieria, celebrated in ancient fable as having been the birth-place of the muses, thence often denominated Pierides.

THESSALY lies immediately south of Macedonia, and north of Achaia, having the Archipelago on the east, and mount Pindus, which divides it from Epirus, on the west. It was anciently famous for its excellent cavalry.

Peneus was the chief river in Thessaly. It runs between the mountains Ossa and Olympus; and meandering along in gentle windings through a country delightfully variegated by groves and meadows, it forms the capital ornament of the delicious Vale of Tempe, described with rapture even by poets, whose eyes were accustomed to the prospect of some of the finest countries in the world.

The most noted mountains of Thessaly are Olympus, Pelium, and Ossa, so famous in fable by the war of the giants.

Between Thessaly and Phocis, at the bottom of mount Octa, lies the defile of Thermopylæ, a pass about 90 feet broad, which formed in a manner the portal of the southern districts of Greece, and is on that account frequently mentioned in history. But it is chiefly renowned by the heroic stand made there against the Persian army by Leonidas and his Spartans.

Thessaly was more anciently accounted a district of Macedonia, and was called Emonia. It was likewise successively known by the names of Pelasgicum, Hellas, Driopis, Argis, and Thessalia, derived from the names of different kings to whom it was subject. At length the name of Thessaly prevailed. Homer calls the inhabitants of this country Myrmidones, Hellenes, Achæi.

It was divided among the following tribes; the Thessalians, the Estiotæ, the Pelasgi, the Magnesii, and the Phthiotæ.

The district of the Thessalians contained the towns of Hypata, Sosthene, Cypera: that of the Estiotæ, those of Gomphi, Phæstus, Tricca, and Etinium: that of the Pelasgi, Pytheum and At-rax: that of the Magnesii, Iolcus, Herminium, Castanea, Melibœa, and Methone, at the siege of which king Philip lost one of his eyes: that of the Phthiotæ, Phthia where Achilles was born, Thessalian Thebes, Echinus, Larissa, Demetrias, where the Macedonian kings for some time kept

their court, and where in latter times the Etolians held their public assemblies; and lastly Pegasæ, where Argo, the famous ship in which Jason and his followers sailed in quest of the golden fleece, was built.

EPIRUS was separated from Macedonia and Thessaly by the river Celidnus and mount Pindus, and from Achaia by the river Achlous.

The mountains Acroceraunia and Pindus are the most remarkable in Epirus. The latter is composed of a very extensive ridge of hills, which separate, as above observed, Epirus from Macedonia and Thessaly, and stretch from the Acroceraunian mountains to mount Oeta; which latter may be considered as the termination of Pindus.

Acheron and Cocytus were the most considerable rivers in Epirus. From these rivers, and the adjacent country, Homer, according to Pausanias, formed his description of the infernal regions.

Epirus contained the following towns: Dodona, in the district of the Melossi, famous for the temple and oracle of Dodonean Jove, where the responses were said to be delivered from the adjacent grove by black pigeons. What ridiculous imposition on the preposterous curiosity of mankind! This oracle was known in the days of Homer and Hesiod; and according to Strabo, ceased in his time. Buthrotum, in the district of the Thesprotians, where king Pyrrhus kept his court. In the neighbourhood of this city, Cicero had a large estate, on which he sometimes resided. Ambracia, near the bay of the same name, the royal residence of the Æacidæ. Actium, off the promontory of which, now called Cape Figalo, happened the important naval engagement between Octavius Cæsar, and Mark Anthony, which decided the fate of the Roman empire in favour of the former. Nicopolis, opposite to Actium, on the other side of the bay, built by Octavius Cæsar, in memory, as the name imports, of his victory just mentioned.

ACHAIA, or Greece properly so called, was bounded on the north by the mountains Oeta and Othrys, by which it was separated from Thessaly; on the east, by the Ægean sea or Archipelago; on the west, by the river Achelous, which divided it from Epirus; and on the south, by the isthmus of Corinth, a neck of land about six miles long, terminated by the bay of Corinth, now called Lepanto, on the west; and by the Saronic bay, or bay of Egina, on the east.

The most remarkable mountains of Achaia were Callidromus, on the border towards Thessaly, overhanging the pass of Thermopylæ. Over this mountain the traitor Ephialtes conducted a detachment of Xerxes' army, while the pass was heroically defended against the main body of the tyrant's forces by a handful of brave Greeks, commanded by the gallant Leonidas. Oeta, where Hercules burnt himself. Othrys, the country of the Lapithæ. Parnassus and Helicon, in the district of Phocis: the former terminated in two tops; the one called Nyssa, consecrated to Apollo; the other Cyrrha, consecrated to Bacchus. This mountain overhangs Delphi, and in fable was reputed the residence of the muses. Helicon stood in the neighbourhood of Parnassus, and was likewise, according to the poets, very much frequented by the muses. On this mountain, and within the grove of the muses, were the celebrated fountains Hypocrene and Aganippe. Here stood the tomb of Orpheus, about which, according to the ancient fabulists, the nightingale delighted to build her nest. On the declivity of Helicon were the towns of Thespia, Nyssa, and As-cra, where Hesiod was born. Cithæron in Bœotia, consecrated to Bacchus. Certain bacchanalian revels were celebrated there. Hymetus in Attica, famed for its delicious honey, and beautiful marble, which was peculiarly adapted for statuary.

The only river of note in Achaia was Cephissus, divided into two branches; the one called Asopus,

which separated the territory of Bœotian Thebes from that of Megara; the other, Ismenus, which runs near to Thebes.

Achaia contained eight districts; Ætolia, Doris, Locris, Ozolæa, Phocis, Megaris, Attica, and Bœotia.

Chalcis, Olenus, and Calydon, were the chief towns of Ætolia. In the neighbourhood of the latter was the Calydonian forest; famous for the chace of the Calydonian boar, which was killed by Meleager.

Doris contained the towns of Boium, Citinium, and Pindus.

In Ozolian Locris stood the town of Naupactus, now called Lepanto, famous in modern times by the important naval engagement between the Spaniards, Venetians, &c. commanded by Don John of Austria, and the Turks, in which the latter were defeated with great slaughter. In Epienemidian Locris were the towns Cnemides, Opus, and Thronium.

The most remarkable towns in Phocis were Anticyra Cyrrha, Pythia, and Delphi at the bottom of mount Parnassus, where the council of the Amphictyons held their deliberations, but chiefly celebrated for the temple and oracle of Apollo.

In Megaris were the towns of Megara and Eleusis. The former gave its name to the country, and was the birth place of Euclid the philosopher, who was so passionate an admirer of the conversation of Socrates, that, at the hazard of his life, on account of the war then subsisting between the Athenians and his countrymen, he stole into Athens dressed like a woman, to listen to that wisest of philosophers. Eleusis was consecrated to Ceres, and was famous by the celebration of certain religious rites in honour of that goddess, the most secret and solemn of the multitude of religious ceremonies observed among the pagan idolaters.

In Attica stood Athens and Marathon. Athens was the most distinguished city of all antiquity; a

name that in every breast animated with the love of literature, and of the fine arts, kindles the warmest sensations of gratitude, admiration, and respect. The brightest emanations of genius, the most profound and ingenious exertions of the human mind, displayed themselves in this propitious spot. It was situated in the middle of a beautiful and extensive plain, about forty miles south of Thebes, and at the same distance to the north of the isthmus of Corinth. It consisted of two great divisions, Cecropia and Athenæ. The former derived its name from Cecrops its founder; and was built on a hill, upon the loftiest part of which stood the citadel. The latter extended into the plain, and was called by the Greek name of its tutelary deity Minerva. One common wall surrounded both; and Athens became the general name of the united city. The rivers Ilyssus and Cephysus meandered through the plain on the east and west sides of the city; and, mingling their streams, formed but one river before they reached the sea. The temples, theatres, and other public edifices at Athens, displayed all that was admirable in statuary and architecture. Beyond and adjoining to the suburbs were two celebrated walks, which to remotest posterity will be remembered with veneration by every admirer of ancient philosophy. One of them was in an ornamented garden, called Academus from the name of the man to whom it had originally belonged; and was frequented by Plato and his followers. In the other, named the Lyceum, Aristotle and those of his school walked and reasoned under the cover of a shady wood; and were thence denominated Peripatetics, or the Walking Philosophers. Within the territory of Athens stood the sea-port towns, Phalera, Munichia, and Pyreus, all on the Saronic bay, now called the gulf of Egina. Pyreus was the most convenient; and on that account was improved, enlarged, and fortified, first by Themistocles, and afterwards by Pericles. Though nearly five miles dis-

tant from Athens, it was joined to that city by the means of two prodigious walls about sixty feet high, and thick in proportion, which effectually protected the communication.

Marathon was famous for the victory obtained by the Greeks, commanded by the Athenian Miltiades, over the numerous army of Darius.

Bœotia contained several famous towns. Thebes, situated between the rivers Asopus and Ismenus. The honour of founding this city is by some ascribed to Amphion; by others, to Phenician Cadmus, at the head of a colony of his countrymen. Its citadel, called Cadmæa, was reckoned very strong. Hercules and Bacchus, the poets Linus and Pindar, the philosopher Cebes, a distinguished disciple of Socrates, and the accomplished Epaminondas, were all natives of Thebes. Thespia, consecrated to the muses, situated on the declivity of mount Helicon. Phryne, so infamous by her morals, but so celebrated for her beauty, was a native of Thespia*. She testified her attachment to her native city, by setting up there an inestimable statue of Cupid, the masterpiece of the famous statuary Praxitiles, her passionate admirer, from whom she obtained it as a present. Thither multitudes thronged to gaze on it with inexpressible delight and admiration. Plataea stood at the bottom of mount Cithæron, on the river Asopus, between Thespia and Thebes. Here the Greeks, commanded by the Spartan Pausanias, gained a decisive victory over the Persians, whose general, Mardonius, and the best troops of their army, were there cut off. Cheronæa, the native city of Plutarch, the excellent biographer. Aulis, where the Grecian forces assembled before their expedi-

* This lady was so dead to the modesty of her sex, and at the same time so vain of her personal charms, that at the feast of Neptune she, in presence of all the people of Eleusis, went naked into the sea to bathe. From this public exhibition of so beautiful a woman, Apelles is said to have made an admirable picture of Venus Anadyomene.

tion against Troy, and from whence they set sail. Leuctra, situated at the bottom of mount Cithæron, on the confines of Megara, between Thespia and Platea, where the Thebans, commanded by Epaminondas and Pelopidas, beat the Spartans, though much superior to the Thebans in point of numbers.

PELOPONNESUS, a peninsula, as its name imports, is now called the Morea, separated on the north from the continent of Achaia by the isthmus of Corinth, and surrounded on all other sides by the sea; the Archipelago or Ægean sea on the one hand, and the Adriatic gulf or Ionian sea on the other.

The most considerable rivers in Peloponnesus were, Peneus; Alpheus, which flowing through Arcadia and Elis, passes by Olympia; Panysus, the largest river within the isthmus, which falls into the sea on the coast of Messenia; Eurotas, which runs through Laconia, and washes Sparta; and Inachus, which flows through Argis, passing by its capital Argos.

Stymphalus, Pholoe, Chronicus, and Taygetus, are the principal mountains in Peloponnesus. Stymphalus lies between Achaia and Arcadia. Pholoe is a lofty woody mountain in Arcadia, the summit of which is generally covered with snow. Chronicus stands in Laconia. Here, according to the ancient fabulists, Saturn hid himself when flying from Jupiter. Taygetus is situated in the neighbourhood of Sparta. It abounded with wild beasts, and furnished the Spartan youth with the amusements of the chase.

Peloponnesus was divided into six districts; Achaia properly so called, Elis, Messenia, Arcadia, Laconia, and Argis.

Corinth was the chief city in Achaia, and stood in the middle of the isthmus that bears its name. Its citadel was built on a steep and lofty hill, and was accounted impregnable by open force. The

city had two harbours ; Cenchrea, towards the Archipelago, whence the Asiatic commerce was carried on ; and Lecheum towards the Adriatic, frequented by the vessels employed in the trade of Italy and Sicily. Corinth was the most commercial town in all Greece, was very powerful in naval strength, and acquired vast wealth by trade. Next to Athens and Sparta it was the most considerable state in ancient Greece. Laïs, so celebrated for her beauty, was a native of Corinth. Ladies of her profession found there uncommon encouragement and protection. Sicyon was likewise situated in Achaia, and was supposed to be the most ancient city in Greece. Aratus, who distinguished himself so highly as general of the Achæan league, was a native of Sicyon.

Elis lies on the western coast of Peloponnesus, having Achaia to the north, and Arcadia and Messenia to the south. Olympia, likewise called Pisa, situated on the river Alpheus, was the chief town in Elis. Here the Olympic games were celebrated. In its neighbourhood stood a rich temple of Olympian Jove, of which the finest ornament was an ivory statue of the god, executed with exquisite art by the celebrated Phidias. Cyllene, another city of Elis, was reputed to be the birth-place of Mercury, thence called Cyllenius.

Messenia lay on the south-west coast of Peloponnesus. It was accounted the most fruitful country of all Greece. Massene, Pylus, and Corone, were the chief towns of Messenia. Pylus was the country of Nestor, so distinguished in the Trojan war. This town having gone to decay, was, during the Peloponnesian war, rebuilt by the Athenians ; who, about the same time, took possession of the island Sphacteria, on the same coast. The Athenian garrisons placed in Pylus and Sphacteria, harassed the Lacedemonians extremely during that destructive war.

Arcadia is a mountainous country, and forms the

centre of the Peloponnesus. The towns of note in this district were, Tegea, Stymphalus, Mantinea, and Megalopolis. In the neighbourhood of Mantinea was fought the bloody battle between the Thebans and their allies on one side, commanded by Epaminondas, and the Lacedemonians and Athenians on the other. The latter were defeated; but Epaminondas expired in the arms of victory. Megalopolis was the birth-place of Polybius the historian.

Laconia lay on the south-east coast of Peloponnesus, and bordered on Messenia and Arcadia. Its chief city was Sparta; whose inhabitants were equally distinguished by their bravery, and by the austerity of their manners. It was built on the western bank of the river Eurotas; which, being seldom fordable, protected the town on that side. Though situated in a plain, it contained several eminences within its circuit. It had no walls. Gytheum stood at the mouth of the Eurotas on the coast of the Archipelago, and was the chief sea port of Laconia. In Laconia were likewise the towns of Leuctrum and Amyclæ.

Argis, also named Argolis, and Argia, lay on the eastern coast of Peloponnesus; and was bounded by Arcadia on the west, and by Laconia on the south. It contained the towns of Argos, Nemæa, Mecenæ, Nauplia, Træzene, and Epidaurus. Argos, the capital, stood on the banks of the river Inachus: In this city, Pyrrhus king of Epirus lost his life. Nemæa was situated between Argos and Corinth; Here the Nemæan games were celebrated in honour of Hercules. Mycenæ was the chief town of Agamemnon's kingdom, and that king's royal residence. Epidaurus was a maritime town, where there was a famous temple of Æsculapius.

The seas which surround Greece are every where interspersed with numberless ISLANDS.

In the Egean sea, we observe Eubœa, Salamis, Egina, Sciro, Tenedos, Lemnos, Samothrace, Lesbos, and Chios.

Eubœa is separated from the continent of Bœotia by a very narrow branch of the sea called Euripus. This island is about 90 miles long and 20 broad; and is fruitful in corn and wine. A remarkable irregularity of the tides happens in the Euripus; from the 9th to the 25th days of the moon, the sea ebbs and flows there, twelve, thirteen, or fourteen times in the twenty-four hours, with a most rapid current. Anciently Eubœa contained two wealthy towns, Carystus and Chalcis. Near the former were quarries of fine marble. Here was found the asbestos, a species of stone that may be separated into thin pliable threads, which the ancients wove into cloth. This cloth, when dirty, was put into the fire, which purified it as water purifies linen, without consuming it. Chalcis stands at the Euripus, opposite to Aulis in Bœotia. It was a very populous city, and sent out many colonies. Here Aristotle breathed his last.

Sciros contained the tomb of Theseus. Here too, according to the poets, Achilles was concealed among the women of Lycomedes, prince of the island, to avoid going to the siege of Troy, where it was foretold he should be killed.

Tenedos was a little island not far from Troy.

Lemnos is of a square form, each side being about seven leagues long. Here, according to the ancient fabulists, Vulcan fell when kicked out of heaven by Jupiter. Hence Vulcan is denominated Lemnius. Terra lemnia, a production of this island, is a mineral famous for its medicinal virtues. From Lemnos, Homer speaks of wine being sent to the Greeks when besieging Troy.

Lesbos, about seventeen leagues in length and seven in breadth, was celebrated for its beautiful women, its excellent wine, and its fertility. Its natives were accounted fine singers. Mytilene was its chief town. Sappho the poetess, and Pittacus the sage, were natives of Lesbos.

The wine of Chios was likewise highly esteemed.

It was the nectar of the ancients. This island is about fourteen leagues in circumference. The women of Chios were uncommonly beautiful.

Ægina, also called Ænone, lay in the Saronic bay between Attica and Megaris. Being a powerful naval state in the neighbourhood of Pireus, the harbour of Athens, it excited the jealousy of the Athenians; who, having quarrelled with the Eginetæ, passed a law, one of the most barbarous that occurs in history, ordaining the thumbs of such of them as fell into their hands to be cut off, to disable them from working at the oar.

Salamis, the kingdom of Telamon, father to Ajax and Teucer, was famous by the important victory obtained in its neighbourhood by the Grecian fleet over that of Xerxes. The Athenians suffered so severely by a long struggle with the Megarensians about this island, that at length they entirely relinquished the attempt, and declared it capital for any person to propose a renewal of the enterprise. But Solon, sensible of the great advantage which the Athenians might derive from having the command of the island, composed verses to incite them to recommence the attempt. To avoid the punishment enacted by the law just mentioned, he affected to be mad; and, in that character, ran through the streets declaiming his verses with great vehemence. The stratagem succeeded, and his countrymen recovered the island.

The Cyclades, a cluster of twelve little islands, lying in a circular form, as the name imports, round Delos; and the Sporades, another collection of small islands, more distant from one another, and scattered round the Cyclades, lie more near to the entry of the Ægean sea, towards Crete. Of the Cyclades, the most considerable was Andros, in the neighbourhood of Eubœa; Delos; and Paros, famous for its beautiful marble. Delos, from what the ancients have written of it, should seem to have been suddenly produced by some violent convulsion in the

earth, occasioned by an earthquake.* According to poetical fable, Delos was the birth-place of Apollo and Diana, the children of Latona. It contained a river called Cynthus, whence Apollo is sometimes called Cynthius, and Diana Cynthia. Many Corinthian merchants, after the destruction of their native city by the Romans, were induced to settle at Delos on account of its convenient harbour. Of the Sporades, the most considerable islands were Icaria, Patmos, Samos, Cos, and Carpathus. Samos is situated opposite to Ephesus, at the distance of about six miles from the continent of Asia Minor. It is about ten leagues long, and five broad. Pythagoras was born here. Juno too was accounted a native of Samos. Cos was the birth-place of the painter Appelles, and of the prince of physicians Hippocrates.

In the Ionian sea, the chief islands were Corcyra, Cephallenia, Zacynthus, and Ithaca. Homer places the Phæacæ, and the gardens of King Alcinous, in Corcyra. Here the Corinthians established a colony, about half a century before Solon's time. Anthony, Cicero's colleague in the consulate, was banished to Cephallenia, where he laid the foundations of a new town. The inhabitants of Zacynthus were an effeminate race, enervated by luxury, the consequence of their wealth. Ithaca, situated to the east of Cephallenia, is chiefly distinguished by being the kingdom and the residence of Ulysses.

Crete, the largest of all the islands which surround Greece, lies beyond the entry into the Ægean sea. It is reckoned to be about 200 miles long and 60 broad. It produced corn and fruit in great plenty, and was famous for its excellent wine. Its inhabitants, reputed, with much probability, to have

* In the year 1707, three or four islands were, by a similar convulsion, produced in the most southerly part of the Archipelago. The largest of these is called Santorin, and is about ten leagues in circumference. It is a rock of pumice stone, covered to the depth of nine or twelve inches with earth.

been originally a Phenician colony, were anciently a warlike people. They had good cavalry; and were expert at the bow, and in naval engagements. Their laws were much admired by the Greeks; and the memory of their legislator Minos was highly venerated. The Cretans afterwards degenerated extremely, and became infamous for their piracy and voluptuousness. Gortyna, Cydon, and Gnosus, were the chief cities of Crete: and Ida and Dictæ were its most remarkable mountains. It had no rivers of any note.

The largest islands of Cyprus and Rhodes are situated in the eastern extremity of the Mediterranean sea; but anciently were not numbered among the Grecian islands. The former lies about 30 miles west of the coast of Syria, and is about 150 miles long and 70 broad. Rhodes is only about 20 miles distant from the coast of Caria in Asia Minor. It is about 50 miles long and 20 broad.

The ancient Greeks sent out many colonies, particularly to Italy, to Sicily, and to Asia Minor. In the last mentioned country, these colonies possessed a large tract of country along the sea-coast, distinguished into three provinces, Eolia, Ionia, and Doris.

Eolia lay on the coast of the Ægean sea, having the province of Troas or Little Phrygia to the north, and Ionia to the south. More anciently, and before the Eolians settled there, it was called Mysia. The cities of chief note in this province were Cuma, Phoea, and Elea. Cuma was reported to have been founded by Pelops, and was a maritime town. Phoea stood at the mouth of the river Thermus, between Cuma and Smyrna, and was built by an Athenian colony. Marseilles, in the south of France, is, by some authors supposed to have been founded by a colony from Phoea. Elea was a sea port town at the mouth of the river Ciacus. Here Zeno, the founder of the sect of Stoics was born.

Ionia lay to the south of Eolia. Its inhabitants, the Ionians, who gave their name to the country, had, according to their own traditions, emigrated thither from Attica. Its principal cities were Smyrna, Clazomenæ, Teos, Lebedus, Colophon, and Ephesus. Smyrna was a rich commercial city, remarkable for the beauty of its situation. Clazomenæ stood upon the coast; and was the birth-place of the philosopher Anaxagoras, the instructor of the illustrious Pericles. Teos was situated on a bay of the sea opposite to Clazomenæ: here Anacreon, the celebrated lyric poet, was born. Lebedus stood likewise on the coast: here annual games were performed in honour of Bacchus. Colophon was famous for an oracle of Apollo in its neighbourhood; but more famous still by having the most plausible claim to the honour of being the birth-place of Homer, the prince of epic poets. But of all the cities of Ionia, Ephesus was the most distinguished. It was situated on the coast between the rivers Cayster and Mæander. Its principal ornament was the renowned temple of Diana, one of the most magnificent edifices that ever the world saw.

Doris lay to the south of Ionia. Halicarnassus and Cnidus were its two principal cities. Herodotus, the father of history, was a native of the former; but removed, with a colony of his countrymen, to Thurium in Italy. Here too Dionysius, surnamed the *Halicarnassian*, was born. At Cnidus there was a statue of Venus of inestimable value, executed by the famous Praxitiles. Cnidus too was the birth-place of Ctesias the physician; who having accompanied Cyrus the younger in his unnatural expedition against his brother Artaxerxes, was made prisoner at the battle of Cunaxa, and remained at the Persian court seventeen years. In this period he is said to have written a voluminous history of the Persians and Assyrians.*

* Ctesias, in his history, seems to have differed in various particulars from Herodotus, whose accuracy he affected to question.

The Pelasgi, who, by their own account, derived their descent from Pelasgus, are, on probable grounds, supposed to have been the most ancient inhabitants of Greece mentioned in tradition.

The Greeks, in their more early times, were, like every other people, a savage race, utterly ignorant of agriculture; and they paid divine honours to Pelasgus, who had taught them to feed on acorns, as affording a more solid and substantial nourishment than herbs and roots.

It appears, that they bore originally the name of Greeks; which however they soon lost; for Hellen, the son of Deucalion king of Lycia, having subdued the Peloponnese, called the people after his own name, Hellenes, and the country itself Hellas.

Acheus and Ion, grandsons of Hellen, became the chiefs of two tribes; the former, of the Achæans, who inhabited Achaia; and the other, of the Ionians, who possessed the territory called afterwards Lacedemon.

Eolus and Dorus, likewise two descendents of Hellen, were in the same manner chiefs of two other tribes called after their names; Eolus of the Eolians, who, under Pelops son of Tantalus, settled in Laconia; and Dorus of the Dorians, who occupied the country of Doris, in the neighbourhood of mount Parnassus. Afterwards the Heraclidæ, or descendents of Hercules, invaded the Peloponnese, and drove out the Achæans and Ionians; who thereupon retired to the coast of Asia Minor.

IN order to treat this history in a more distinct

Ctesias too was himself suspected by the posterior Greek writers, and by Plutarch among the rest, both of credulity in historical researches, and of vanity as to what related to himself. But as Herodotus, as well as Ctesias, wrote principally from tradition, they may have been both misinformed; and from their disagreement, as well as from the nature of things, we may perceive how little credit is due to the history of remote nations and ages not otherwise supported than by tradition.

and methodical manner, we shall divide it into four ages or periods, including altogether a space of 1988 years.

The first age extends from the foundation of the small kingdom of Sicyon, accounted the most ancient in Greece, about the year before Christ, according to our computation, 2084, to the beginning of the war between the Greeks and Persians, about the year 494, a space of 1590 years.

The second age extends from the commencement of the war between the Greeks and Persians, to the conclusion of the Peloponnesian war in the year 404, a space of 90 years.

The third age extends from the conclusion of the Peloponnesian war to the death of Alexander the Great in the year 323, a space of 81 years.

The fourth and last age extends from the death of Alexander the Great to the time when Greece became a Roman province, soon after the destruction of Corinth, about the year 146, a space of about 177 years.

The end of the history of Greece, is by other writers extended to the period of the extinction of the government of the Seleucidæ in Asia, by Pompey the Great, in the year before Christ 65; and, by some authors, it is even extended to the time that the race of the Lagidæ failed in Egypt, in the person of the famous Cleopatra, when that country was reduced into the form of a Roman province by Augustus Cæsar, in the year after Christ 30.

To the whole shall be subjoined an account of the most memorable transactions in Greater Greece, which comprehended, as we have already observed, the island of Sicily, and a considerable part of the present kingdom of Naples on the continent of Italy.

THE
HISTORY
OF
ANCIENT GREECE.

BOOK I.

CONTAINING THE HISTORY OF THE FIRST AGE OF
GREECE.

THIS first age may be called the infancy of Greece. It presents at first to our view a country divided into several small principalities, such as the kingdoms of Sicyon, of Athens, of Sparta, of Thebes, &c. which are thought to have been respectively founded by different colonies of Egyptians and Phenicians. In the next place it comprehends the heroic times, under which are placed the expedition of the Argonauts, the cruelty of the Danaides, the labours of Hercules, the siege of Thebes, the siege of Troy, and other ancient events, which have been greatly disguised by the fables of the poets. For the whole mythology, and the various metamorphoses with which their works abound, are nothing else than the events of the ancient Greek history, disfigured and transformed by the licentious marvellous of those first poets.

The colonies just now mentioned, contributed to humanize and soften the savage manners of the original Greeks. Of the Phenicians they learned navigation and commerce; and of the Egyptians, law, religion, the rudiments of the fine arts, and bodily exercises.

The Greeks, gradually emerging from barbarism,

acquired by degrees juster notions of every thing. Each individual began to regard his family as a member of the state, and his native country as a common mother. Hence they soon became sensible of the necessity and nature of government. At first the regal power generally prevailed. But in process of time, most of the states assumed the republican form of government; which, as it opens a way for every the lowest member to arrive at honours and offices, begets in the breast of the citizens a more than ordinary love of their country. The offices of trust, too, in such a government, being commonly confined in their duration to a year, or some such short space, could hardly be converted to any bad purpose by those who possessed them, sensible how soon they must resign them and return to a level with their fellow-citizens, and that they were obliged to render a strict account of their administration. Besides, their laborious course of life, chiefly spent in the cultivation of the ground, preserved them, in a great measure, from the more hurtful and vicious passions, and maintained a certain degree of equality among all the members of the state. Hence simplicity and sobriety, with their concomitant virtues, were holden in honour and esteem. Such were the Greeks during this first age, and the greater part of the second.

CHAP. I.

A general account of the ancient principalities of Greece, from their earliest times till the abolition of the kingly government in all but Sparta.

THE history of the first ages of Greece is, like that of the beginnings of all other nations, involved in almost impenetrable obscurity. This obscurity gives room for fiction; which, while it fills up the total blank of remote antiquity with imaginary events and revolutions, disguises at the same time,

and embellishes, the few real occurrences of later times, of which some remembrance was still preserved, in such a manner that they become marvellous, unnatural, and incredible.

Some learned men have laboured to distinguish fact from fable in this undigested chaos; and their investigations furnish evidence of their extensive reading, and frequently, though not always, discover much discernment and ingenuity. But this is all the praise that can be given them. For a sagacious and attentive reader generally perceives their theories to be directed by some particular bias, and finds their deductions inconclusive and unsatisfactory.

But the unavoidable ignorance of the more ancient history of nations, though it may be matter of regret to philosophers, is no material loss to other readers. For what useful information could have been thence derived, even if their transactions had been faithfully recorded by writers who had lived in those times? We should peruse but the annals of various tribes of savages, roaming about from place to place as accidents direct them, struggling with the seasons, and with their brother-beasts, and governed in their pursuits by immediate necessity rather than by rational design. To the philosopher, who desires to trace man from the brute state to that of society, such a history might be useful; but to other readers it would afford little instruction and less entertainment. Mankind in this state should seem to be a fitter subject for natural philosophy than for history.

The ancient poets of Greece were likewise its first historians. The same has been the case with most other nations. The object of those poets having been to please and to surprise, rather than confine themselves to the plain narration of matters of fact, their descriptions are wonderful past all bounds of credibility, and exhibit a motely medley of miracles, monsters, demi-gods, and heroes.

We should therefore very willingly have omitted to take any notice of the absurd fables of the more ancient history of Greece, were not the knowledge of them necessary to those who peruse the writings of the ancients, which otherwise must in many places prove totally unintelligible. For this reason alone we proceed to this disagreeable and disgusting task; which, however, we shall discuss with all possible brevity.

Greece, in its more ancient times, was divided into these seven small kingdoms or principalities: Sicyon, Argos, Mycene, Thebes, Corinth, Sparta, and Athens. Of each of these in its order.

SICYON.

THE kingdom of Sicyon took its name 2101.* from Sicyon, a town of the Peloponnesus, situated near the isthmus of Corinth, and by some accounted the most ancient city of Greece. Egialeus is mentioned as its first king; but historians are not agreed about the number of his successors. Indeed this kingdom never possessed much power, nor made any considerable figure.

We cannot speak with any tolerable certainty of the other small kingdoms established about the same time with that of Sicyon.

ARGOS.

THE principality of Argos surpassed, both 1856. in power and wealth, that of Sicyon. The names of its kings that occur in history are these:—Inachus, Phoroneus, Apis, Argus, Criasus, Phorbas, Triopas, Erotopus, Sthenelus, Gelanor, Danaus, Linceus, Abas, Prætus, Acrisius.

Phoroneus endeavoured to humanise his subjects, influencing their minds by the terrors of religion, and their actions by the restraint of laws. He gained several advantages over the Arcadians in war,

* This and all the other dates are expressive of the year before Christ.

and reduced the Peloponnesus under his power. Argus, from whom the chief city of the kingdom derived its name, is reckoned the first who yoked oxen in the plough. Criasus was the first who dedicated altars to the goddess Juno. Inachus is famous for being the father of Io, who has afforded so much matter for poetical fiction.

Here occurs the fable of the Danaides, told in substance thus:—Egyptus king of Egypt having fifty sons, resolved to marry them to the like number of daughters of his brother Danaus; who, to avoid the alliance, fled to Argos. The ship in which he transported himself was the first of any considerable size that had appeared on the coast of Greece. Upon arriving at Argos, he claimed the crown, as being a descendant of Epaphus; and was on that footing preferred to Gelanor, who was then in possession of it. Egyptus, in the mean time, apprehensive lest Danaus should become too powerful by the alliances he might procure from the marriages of his fifty daughters, dispatched his fifty sons at the head of an army, to insist on the daughters receiving them for husbands. Their uncle Danaus finding himself solicited in so forcible a manner, was obliged to consent; but he privately persuaded his daughters to murder their respective husbands the first night of their marriage; a most shocking cruelty, which these daughters, however, were not afraid to perpetrate. Linceus, the husband of the daughter named Hypermnestra, alone escaped this horrible massacre. This story is absurd and incredible.

Acrisius and Prætus, two twin-brothers, and sons of Linceus, disputed the kingdom with each other; but came to an agreement at last; whereby the crown of Argos was reserved to Acrisius; and Tirinthus, with some other places, were yielded to Prætus. This Acrisius, was the father of the beautiful Danaë, so celebrated by the poets. Acrisius having been warned by an oracle, that his grand-

son should occasion his death, placed his daughter in close confinement. But a prince, named Jupiter, bribed her guard, gained admittance into the tower wherein she was confined, and married her.

1361. Perseus was the fruit of this clandestine marriage.

Many wonderful actions are ascribed to this Perseus. He is said to have destroyed monsters, to have killed Medusa, who is believed to have been a queen in Africa, whose kingdom he conquered, and to have rescued Andromeda from a sea-monster: that is to say, from some person who was to have carried her away in a ship. Perseus coming at last into Thessaly, to be present at certain public games, killed Acrisius by accident.

About the same time Pelops, the son of Tantalus king of Phrygia, having married Hippodamia, the daughter of Oenomaos king of Pisa, succeeded his father-in-law in his kingdom, and reigned very long. He made himself master of the Peloponnesus, and had a vast number of descendants, famous in the history of Greece, where they are distinguished by the name of Pelopidæ.

MYCENE.

PERSEUS transferred the throne of Argos
1344. to Mycene, and gave the city of Argos to his son Anaxagoras, who was the father of a pretty long race, by whom he was succeeded in that principality. The reign of Perseus was of fifty-eight years' duration, and afforded him sufficient time for establishing on a firm foundation his new kingdom of Mycene. The names of his successors were, Sthenelus, Eurystheus, Arterus, Thyestes, Agamemnon, Egisteus, Orestes, Tisamenes.

It was Eurystheus who imposed on Hercules the twelve labours so much exaggerated by fable. It seems to be admitted by historians, that several heroes existed, in different nations, under this name of Hercules, which appears to have been a general

appellation bestowed on those who distinguished themselves by extraordinary feats of valour. But in the end, the exploits of all the rest were, by the Grecian fabulists, appropriated to their own countryman, who was the son of Alcmena by Amphytrion, or, as the poets will have it, by Jupiter, the chief of the gods; but who truly has been some neighbouring prince of that name. Eurystheus, from a jealousy of the bravery of Hercules, engaged him in several dangerous enterprises, wherein he hoped he might perish. These enterprises have in fable obtained the name of the twelve labours; and are there rendered romantic past all bounds of probability. The Nemean lion, and the seven-headed hydra, must certainly have been robbers or murderers extirpated by Hercules. For in those early ages, persons of extraordinary courage travelled about in search of great adventures, something in the manner of our modern knight-errants.

The expedition of the Argonauts must be 1263. placed about this time. Jason, a young prince of Thessaly, was instigated to this undertaking by his uncle Pelias; who having usurped his throne, hoped that his nephew might fall in the expedition. The enterprise was deemed so bold and hazardous, that the bravest men in Greece thought themselves bound in honour to participate in the glory of it. Hercules, therefore, with Castor and Pollux, Theseus, Peleus, Laertes, and Telamon, accompanied Jason in the expedition; together with Argus, by whose direction the ship that transported them to Colchos was constructed, and which on that account was named Argo. These intrepid adventurers passed through the Hellespont, the Propontis, and the Thracian Bosphorus into the Euxine sea, which they traversed to the mouth of the river Phasus in the territory of Colchos at the most easterly extremity of that sea. Though too few to proceed by open force, and too distinguished, according to the ideas of modern

times, to act basely, yet it seems to be certain, that wealth was on this occasion the object of those Grecian heroes; and that the vast treasures of Etes, a prince of that country, was the prize at which they aimed. The adventurers accordingly succeeded in their enterprise, and that too without any blood being spilt; for Medea, the daughter of Etes, having fallen in love with Jason, put him in possession of all her father's wealth, to induce him to marry her. This Medea became afterwards famous by her skill in sorcery, and infamous by her wickedness. The poets have been pleased to assign a golden fleece, which was guarded by a dragon, for the object of this expedition, and to deck the story in showy fables; and the voyage was at that time judged to be so dangerous and wonderful, that one of the brightest constellations in the heavens was called Argo, after the name of the ship.

To return to Hercules. That hero, after having acquired immortal glory, burnt himself on mount Oeta, in an excess of pain, occasioned, as we are told, by the poisoned shirt given him by his wife Dejanira, by the persuasion of his rival Nessus. This fabulous story signifies, perhaps, that Dejanira, in a fit of jealousy, may have given him a potion which rendered him furious, and killed him.

Eurystheus, actuated by the same hatred and cruelty against the children of Hercules that he had entertained against their father, expelled them the Peloponnesus. They were known by the name of Heraclidæ, and took refuge in Attica; where Eurystheus, having again attacked them, was defeated and slain. Upon this they returned into the Peloponnesus; but three years after, Hellen, the eldest of them, having been defeated by a king of Tegea, the rest of his kindred were obliged to disperse through different countries.

After the death of Euristheus, his nephew Atreus, the son of Pelops, took possession of the Peloponnesus, where his posterity reigned after him un-

der the appellation of Pelopidæ. This Atreus rendered himself remarkable by his cruelty. Having discovered that his brother Thyestes carried on a criminal correspondence with his wife Europa, he first banished him; but afterwards, having recalled him, he killed Thyestes's son Pelops, and served up the flesh of his body as a dish to his father. This fact, however, depends on no better authority than that of the poets, and may therefore be justly enough called in question. But it has nevertheless furnished subject for the tragic muse, both in ancient and modern times. Agamemnon, son of Plisthenes, and grandson of Atreus, is supposed to have been the successor of Atreus in the kingdom of Argos and Mycene. Agamemnon was a very powerful prince, and on that account was chosen commander-in-chief of the Grecian forces in the war against Troy.

THEBES.

Cadmus, a native of Egypt, and the son
1493. of Agenor, is reckoned the first king of Thebes. Under pretence of seeking for his sister, who had been carried off by a prince called Jupiter, he led a colony of Phenicians into Greece, and founded that city. Cadmus is said to have introduced into Greece the Phenician alphabet. The invention of letters, which is generally attributed to the Phenicians, is the most wonderful, and the most useful, of all the inventions of man. The successors of Cadmus were Polydore, Labdacus, and Lycus.

In the time of the last of these, Amphion and Zethus made themselves masters of Thebes, and assumed the sovereign power. Amphion, being a man of a mild disposition, and very eloquent, persuaded the Thebans voluntarily to confirm him and his colleague in the royalty, and likewise to take more effectual measures for the defence of their city. This, no doubt, has given occasion to the poet

ical fable of Amphion having built the walls of Thebes by the music of his lyre. His reign, however, was but of short duration; for Laius, the son of Labdacus, soon recovered the kingdom.

Laius having married a lady called Jocasta, was told by the oracle, that the son she brought him would occasion his death. As soon therefore as the boy was born, he ordered him to be exposed. But some shepherds found the child, saved him from perishing, and called him Oedipus. Happening, when grown up, to meet with his father in the country of Phocis, he quarrelled with the old man, and slew him, without knowing him to be his father. Creon, thereupon, the brother of Jocasta, usurped the crown.

Here the truth of the Theban history is disfigured and disguised by the fables of the poets. They tell us, that a sphinx appeared on the sea-shore, proposed a riddle to all passengers, and devoured those that could not solve it. Creon ordered proclamation to be made through all Greece, that he would bestow the kingdom of Thebes, together with its queen Jocasta, on the man that would solve the sphinx's riddle. Oedipus undertook the business; and on being asked by the sphinx,—what was the animal that walked in the morning on four feet, at noon on two, and at night on three? He answered, that it was man: alluding to his being able only to crawl about in early infancy, to walk in manhood, and to support himself in old age with a staff. The sphinx, enraged at finding her riddle understood, threw herself into the sea. Oedipus, as the reward of his ingenuity, received Jocasta in marriage, and the kingdom of Thebes for her dowry. A violent plague immediately desolates Bœotia; and the oracle being applied to on the occasion, gives for answer, that it would continue to rage till the murderer of Laius was banished. After much inquiry, the mystery is discovered. Oedipus perceiving that he is not only the murderer of his fa-

ther, but the husband of his own mother, is struck with the utmost horror, and in despair plucks out his eyes, or, more truly, perhaps, banishes himself from the sight of his subjects by a voluntary retirement; and Jocasta, in an excess of grief, strangles herself. The tragic poets, in all ages, have found this a proper subject on which to exercise their muse.

Eteocles and Polinices, the unhappy fruits
1225. of the incestuous marriage of Oedipus and his mother, soon became famous for their mutual animosity and hatred to each other. In this disposition they both aspired to the throne; and could find no other mean of reconciliation, than by agreeing to reign alternately, each a year at a time. But Eteocles having been first preferred to the regal dignity, on account of his being elder brother, refused, upon the expiry of his year, to resign the throne to Polinices. The latter, upon this, implored the assistance of Adrastus king of Argos; who not only joined him himself, but soon formed a powerful confederacy in his favour, and immediately declared war against Eteocles. Thebes accordingly is besieged under the conduct of seven famous commanders, Adrastus, Polinices, Tydeus, Amphiaraus, Capaneus, Hypomedon, and Parthenopeus. Of these commanders the greater part perished in the course of the siege; which, after occasioning the effusion of much blood, was at last relinquished. Eteocles and Polinices having terminated the contest by a single combat, wherein they fought with such desperate fury, that they both fell. This siege of Thebes is reckoned to have preceded that of Troy about 30 years.

After the death of the two brothers, the sons of the seven commanders who had conducted the siege resolved to revenge the deaths of such of their fathers as had been killed in it. With this view they laid waste Bœotia, and came to an engagement with the Thebans; who, having lost their king in the

battle, abandoned their city ; of which the Epigonoï, the name given to these seven chiefs, immediately took possession.

The sequel of this period of the Theban history is no less uncertain and obscure than its beginning. Xanthus is thought to have been their last king, the government on his death having become republican.

CORINTH.

THE origin of Corinth is involved in great
1393. obscurity. It is supposed to have been first erected into a kingdom by Sysiphus. Glau-
cus, the son of Sysiphus, instituted the isthmic games, and was father to the famous Bellerophon ; who, according to the poets, mounted the horse Pegasus, to encounter a monster. The truth of the matter seems to be, that Bellerophon behaved himself heroically in the many enterprises which he undertook. As there is great confusion in history with respect to the kings of Corinth, we shall only mention, that only one of those kings, Bacchis, left a numerous posterity, known by the name of Bacchides ; who, after a considerable interval, during which several revolutions happened in the kingdom, engrossed the whole power of the state, and rendered the government aristocratical.

In this interval Corinth had arrived at a considerable degree of naval strength, and had founded the colonies of Corcyra and Syracuse. The latter of which, by the advantage of its situation, and the goodness of its climate, became the finest city of Greater Greece.

Cypselus, at last, in spite of numberless obstacles that lay in his way, rose to the supreme power at Corinth ; and, having completely gotten the better of all opposition, ruled his subjects with great mildness and moderation for the space of 30 years. His son Periander succeeded him ; but proved a downright tyrant : for he not only put to death the prin-

cipal citizens of Corinth, but even his own wife. His great intercourse, however, with the philosophers of those times, and the philosophical spirit which, notwithstanding the cruelty of his nature, he himself possessed, procured him a place among the seven sages of Greece; an honour from which his crimes ought to have excluded him. Upon his death the Corinthians, weary of being ruled by an absolute prince, resolved to alter the form of government from monarchy to democracy; and having, with that view, freed themselves of the remaining branches of the royal family, they asserted their natural liberty, and established the popular government.

The advantageous situation of Corinth upon the narrow neck of land that joins the Peloponnesus to the continent, procured her the appellation of the *eye* of Greece, and seemed peculiarly adapted for giving her a superiority over all the neighbouring states. But the genius of the Corinthians was entirely commercial. They aspired rather at wealth than power.

SPARTA.

LELEX is the first king of Laconia mentioned in history. His successors were, Myles, Eurotas, Lacedemon, Amycles, Argalus, Cynortas, Oebalus, Hypocoon, and Tyndarus.

Eurotas was the founder of the city of Sparta, so called after his daughter Sparta, the wife of Lacedemon, who gave his name to the country, as his wife had given hers to the city.

Tyndarus married Leda, who became mother of the two famous heroes Castor and Pollux, and the no less famous daughters, Clytemnestra the wife of Agamemnon, and Helen, whose rape gave occasion to the Trojan war.

It is believed, and with a great deal of probability, that the Trojans were originally a Greek colony; Dardanus, their first king, having come from

Arcadia; and their religion, their language, and the greater part of their names, being apparently of Greek extraction. These are the kings of Troy whose names have reached us: Dardanus, Ericthonius, Tros, Ilus, Laomedon, and Priam. The name of Ilium, by which their chief city was known to the Greeks, is thought to have been derived from Ilus, and its other name of Troy from Tros. Priam, its last king, had arrived at a very high pitch of wealth and power. He was the father of fifty sons; the walls of Troy were rebuilt by him; he changed the name of the town to Pergamus; and reigned for many years with great prosperity.

In the mean time queen Hecuba, Priam's second wife, having dreamt that she should bring forth a firebrand, by which the city should be reduced to ashes, Priam was so much alarmed, that he ordered the child, of whom the queen was big, and who happened to be a boy, to be exposed as soon as born. The child was named Paris; and, notwithstanding the order of his father, was, by the care of Hecuba, preserved, and privately educated. When grown up, he appeared at court, where his beautiful person attracted general admiration. Upon this he ventured to discover himself to Priam; who was so delighted with his figure and accomplishments, that he thought no more of the dream. Paris soon after undertook an expedition into Greece, on pretence of recovering his aunt Hesione, who, when very young, had been carried away by Hercules, and by him had been given in marriage to Telamon. It may not be improper to mention the occasion of this rape.

Laomedon, the father of Hesione, had applied the treasures of the temples of Neptune and Apollo to build the walls of Troy, under a promise of repaying the sums so abstracted. But being either unable or unwilling to discharge his promise, the oracle declared that he could no otherwise expiate the sacrilege, than by exposing a Trojan virgin to a

sea-monster. Hesione was condemned by lot to undergo this punishment. Hercules, however, slew the monster, and rescued Hesione. It is well known how much this event has been disguised by the fictions of the poets.

Paris, upon his arrival at Sparta, was received in the most kind and hospitable manner by Menelaus, who had succeeded to that kingdom in the right of his wife Helen, the daughter of Tyndarus. But Paris, falling in love with Helen, prevailed with her to run away with him, and thereby plunged his country into an abyss of misfortunes.

We may, however, trace the cause of the Trojan war to a higher source still, and attribute it to an hereditary animosity that had long subsisted between the families of Agamemnon and Priam. For Tantalus king of Phrygia, and great-grandfather of Agamemnon, having violently carried off Gany-mede, the brother of Ilus the grandfather of Priam, Ilus had taken vengeance for this injury, by stripping Tantalus of his dominions, and had obliged him to take refuge in Greece, where his son Pelops and his descendants established themselves under the name of Pelopidæ. Be this as it may, Menelaus, fired with indignation at the insult committed against him by Paris, persuaded his brother Agamemnon to espouse his quarrel ; and, by their joint efforts, the two brothers brought all the other powers of Greece to unite in the same cause, and to bind themselves by oath, either to recover Helen or to ruin Troy. Agamemnon was chosen commander-in-chief of this grand confederacy.

Aulis was the general rendezvous of the Grecian forces ; who, when assembled there, composed altogether an army of 100,000 men. The fleet destined to carry them to Troy, consisted of about 1150 vessels. The galleys of Bœotia carried each 120 men, and those of Philoctetes 50. These vessels had no deck, but were made like open boats. Of the chiefs who accompanied this army, the most fa-

mous were Agamemnon, Menelaus, Diomedes, Nestor, Ajax son of Telamon, Ajax son of Oileus, Achilles, his friend Patroclus, Ulysses, &c.

The Greeks, having landed on the plains
1193. of Troy, soon perceived that the Trojans were as brave a people as themselves. Ulysses and Menelaus were sent to Priam to demand the restitution of Helen. But that prince, in opposition to the opinion of his council, having refused to comply with their request, both parties made vigorous preparations for war.

The Greeks, after defeating the Trojans in two different engagements, found themselves under the necessity of dividing their forces, the more easily to procure provisions, of which they began to be in great want. This gave leisure to the Trojans to negotiate with the neighbouring states for assistance. Achilles, in the mean time, who commanded the detachment of the army sent out in search of provisions, performed many signal exploits; took several towns, and made a vast booty. But the cruelty of the Greeks to Palamedes, one of their bravest officers, whom they put to death upon a false accusation of treason brought against him by Ulysses, so provoked Achilles, that he refused to give them further assistance in the war, and separated his troops from the rest of the army.

The nine first years of the war were consumed in various engagements of no great importance; the Greeks having in that time employed themselves chiefly in ravaging the territories of Priam and his allies. It is therefore true, that the *war* of Troy continued ten years: but it is not true, as is commonly believed, that the city of Troy was *besieged* all that space; for it was not till the spring of the tenth year that the Greeks formed the siege. They at first experienced the most vigorous resistance on the part of the besieged, who were commanded by Hector, Deiphobus, Æneas, &c. and by several princes that had come to their assistance,

such as Sarpedon, Glaucus, Rhæsus, Memnon. The Trojans had even the advantage in several engagements, and made a great slaughter of the Greeks; but none of these actions were decisive. At last, however, Hector, at the head of the Trojans, beat the enemy fairly from the field, pursued them to their camp, forced the entrenchments, and set fire to their ships; and victory seemed at last on the point of declaring for the Trojans.

But Patroclus, the friend of Achilles, perceiving the extreme distress of the Greeks, advanced in this critical moment to their relief with the troops of Achilles, reckoned the bravest of the Grecian army, rallied the Greeks, and repulsed the Trojans. Several of the best officers on both sides fell on this occasion; amongst the rest, Sarpedon slain by Patroclus, and Patroclus himself slain by the hand of Hector. Affairs now assume a different appearance. Achilles, furious for the loss of his friend, and forgetting the former cause of his resentment, joins his forces to the rest of the Grecian army, beats the Trojans, and sacrifices on the tomb of Patroclus twelve of the noblest prisoners taken by him in the engagement. He is now solely intent on fighting personally with Hector; whom he engages, and kills at last. But not satisfied with the death of his gallant enemy, he sullies the glory of his victory by insulting, in the most ungenerous and savage manner, over his dead body, which he drags at his chariot wheels around the city. Achilles himself is slain soon after by Paris; who in like manner falls in a short time by the hand of Philoctetes.

The Trojans having now lost their best commanders, reposed their last hope on the famous palladium, a statue of Minerva, said to have dropt into their city directly from heaven; it being a received opinion, that while this statue remained within the walls of Troy, the city could never be taken. At length, however, Antenor and Æneas are reported to have treacherously delivered it to the Greeks,

and at the same time to have betrayed the city by throwing the gates open to the enemy in the night. But some authors say, that the Greeks took Troy by surprise. As for the wooden-horse, by means of which the Greeks, according to the poets, made themselves masters of the city, it should seem to be a mere chimera of poetical fancy ; or, perhaps, some machine resembling a horse, which the Greeks may have used in the siege, to make a breach in the wall, by which they gained admittance into the town. It is, however, an agreed point, that the Greeks took the city in the night ; put Priam and all his family to death ; and, after plundering the town, set it on fire. The taking of Troy is the most celebrated epoch in the history of the Greeks ; and indeed this war may be said to have afforded the first public display of Grecian valour. It is likewise worth remarking, that the misfortunes of Troy have furnished the subject of the two most perfect epic poems in the world, the *Iliad* and the *Æneid*.

Menelaus alone, by recovering Helen, reaped an apparent advantage from the success of this enterprise. To the other Greeks it proved a source of the bitterest misfortunes. The fields of Troy were drenched with the blood of their best commanders and soldiers, of whom the far greater part were buried there ; and the remains of their army, after being further considerably diminished by the disasters of a tempestuous voyage, found, on their arrival at home, nothing but mortifications and disappointments of the most cruel kinds. Their chief, Agamemnon, had been but a short while in his own kingdom, when he was murdered by Egyptus the son of Thyestes, who usurped his throne as the reward of his villany.

Hermione, the daughter of Menelaus and Helen, had been first married to Orestes, the son of Agamemnon ; but was afterwards taken from him, and given to Pyrrhus the son of Achilles. Orestes hav-

ing slain Pyrrhus, succeeded Menelaus in the kingdom of Sparta ; and seven years after, having likewise killed the usurper Egyptus, together with Clytemnestra his own mother, who had been accessory to the murder of her husband Agamemnon, he united the kingdom of Sparta with that of Argos and Mycene. Orestes, in the mean time, felt the most bitter remorse for his cruelty to his mother. Hence the poets have taken occasion to say, that he was haunted by the furies. Tisamenes succeeded his father Orestes ; but was dethroned, and expelled his kingdom by the Heraclidæ, after reigning three years.

The Heraclidæ were at this time headed by three brothers, Temanes, Ctesiphontes, and Aristodemus, sons of Aristomachus, great-grandson of Hercules. They laid claim to the Peloponnesus, as belonging to them by hereditary right, and recovered it accordingly. Temanes got the city of Argos, Aristodemus that of Sparta, and Ctesiphontes Mycene. The return of the Heraclidæ produced a great revolution among the states of Greece, and annihilated the power of the Pelopidæ. The Achæans, who had formerly inhabited a part of Laconia, were by that event obliged to remove to Asia Minor, where they occupied that part of the continent formerly known by the name of Eolia ; and there founded Smyrna, and several other cities. The Ionians too, who possessed another district of the Peloponnesus, were expelled that country by the Heraclidæ, and obliged, in like manner, to retire to Asia Minor ; where they took possession of the country called after them Ionia, and there built Ephesus, Clazomene, Samos, &c.

As the four principal tribes of Greeks, distinguished by the names of Eolians, Achæans, Ionians, and Dorians, were perfectly independent of one another, and confined themselves each to its particular territory, every one of them preserved its peculiar manner of speaking. Hence arose four

principal dialects of the Greek language ; the Attic, used by the Athenians ; the Ionic, by the people of Ionia ; the Doric, by the Lacedemonians and Argives ; and the Eolic, by the Bœotians and the inhabitants of Eolia.

The Heraclidæ and Pelopidæ furnished kings to Sparta for the space of 900 years, reckoning down to the time of the tyrant Mechanidas.

Aristodemus, at his death, left behind him two sons, Eurysthenus and Procles ; who being twins, and so exactly like each other, that it was hardly possible to distinguish them, were therefore made joint kings. From their time Sparta was always governed by two kings. Eurysthenus was succeeded by his son Agis, and Procles by his son called Ous. It was in their time that the slaves called Helots were first known at Sparta. The inhabitants of Helos, a city in the neighbourhood of Sparta, having refused to pay a certain tribute imposed by Agis upon all the territories of Lacedemon, that king, desirous to confirm his authority by an example of severity, laid siege to their city, took it, and made all the inhabitants slaves. They were condemned to the most disgraceful and painful employments, and treated with much rigour and cruelty. In process of time, the Spartans obliged them to labour their grounds, and kept them in a state of perpetual servitude.

The Spartans took advantage of the weakness and extreme good-nature of one of their kings, Eurytion, to encroach on the royal prerogative. This produced confusion in the government. Eunomus, another of their kings, left two sons of different marriages, Polydectus and Lycurgus. Polydectus succeeded to Eunomus ; but died without leaving any child, though his wife was pregnant at the time of his death. Lycurgus, therefore, who afterwards became so famous, next mounted the throne, as colleague to Archelaus ; but he declared to the people, that he assumed this dignity merely

as guardian for the child whom his brother's wife should bring forth, to whom the crown of right belonged. The queen, in the mean time, signified to Lycurgus, that, on condition of his marrying her, she would destroy the child in her womb. Lycurgus was shocked at this horrid proposal; but judged it prudent to dissemble, and to avoid, under various pretences, to come to a final explanation with the queen, giving in the mean time private orders to bring him the child the moment it should be born. The queen, at last, brought forth a boy; who was immediately carried by Lycurgus into the public assembly, and presented to the chief men of Sparta as their king. The name of this king was Charilaus. We shall resume the sequel of the Lacedemonian history in the beginning of next chapter.

ATHENS.

CECROPS, a native of Egypt, led a colony 1556. of his countrymen into Greece, settled in Attica, and founded the kingdom of Athens. He divided the country into twelve districts, and assumed the name of king. He pitched on a hill in the midst of a large plain for the foundation of his city, and built the citadel on the rock in which the hill terminated. He established religion among his subjects, and instituted a particular form of worship to Jupiter and Minerva. As the soil of the country of Attica was barren, his subjects were laid under the necessity of making use of navigation to bring corn from Africa and Sicily. The areopagus, a kind of senate, which assembled and held its deliberations upon a hill near the citadel, consecrated to Mars, was likewise instituted by Cecrops. This tribunal was afterwards rendered by Solon the most famous in the world.

The names of the successors of Cecrops, were, Cranaus, Amphictyon, Erichthonius, Pandion, Erechtheus, Cecrops II. Pandion II. Egeus, Theseus,

Mnestheus, Demophoon, Oxintes, Oephidas, Timethes, Melanthus, and Codrus.

Cranaus was expelled Athens by Amphictyon and Hellen, sons of Deucalion king of Thessaly. It is thought that the Greeks derived their name from this Hellen.

Amphictyon instituted the famous assembly called after his name. It was composed of deputies from twelve, or, according to some, from one-and-thirty neighbouring states, among whom this king brought about a sort of confederacy. Two deputies from each of these states met twice a-year at Thermopylæ, to deliberate on the affairs of Greece in general. The amphictyons had a power of determining, in the last resort, all controversies that subsisted between those states, and of imposing high fines on the party found in the wrong. The members of this court, before their admission, bound themselves by the most solemn oaths and imprecations, to the strict performance of the duty of their office. They particularly engaged themselves to execute vengeance against those who should presume to abstract any gift from the temple of Apollo. The authority of this tribunal prevailed in all its vigour till the time of Philip king of Macedon; who, having procured himself to be elected president of it, abused the power reposed in him, and by that means brought the court into contempt.

Bacchus, known likewise by the name of Dionysius, having in the time of Amphictyon come into Greece, accompanied by other natives of the east, instructed the Greeks in many useful arts, particularly in the culture of the vine. In return, the Greeks accounted him a god, and raised altars to his memory. The birth and conquests of this god have furnished an ample field for the imaginations of the poets to embellish.

Under the reign of Erichthonius, is placed the rape of Proserpine, the daughter of Ceres queen of Sici-

ly ; the journey of Ceres into Greece to seek her daughter ; her stay at Eleusis with Triptolemus, whom she instructed in tillage ; and the establishment of her worship at Eleusis. The ceremonies attending this worship were known by the name of the Eleusinian mysteries, and became extremely famous on account of the impenetrable secrecy with which they were concealed.

Erichthonius instituted, in honour of Minerva, the festival called Panathenea, on account of the great concourse of people from every part of Greece that flocked to Athens on that occasion. Erichthonius too taught the Athenians the use of money.

Pandion II. had four sons : one of these was Egeus his successor ; Pallas, another of them, had fifty sons, called after him Pallantidæ. Egeus had but one child ; and him by a concubine called Ethra, the daughter of Pitheus. This child was Theseus, one of the most famous heroes of antiquity.

Theseus, while yet very young, and before
1264. his accession to the throne, having heard of the exploits of Hercules, was seized with a violent desire to imitate him. After his example, therefore, he employed himself in clearing the highways of robbers, of whom he destroyed a great number. On returning to Athens, his father received him with much joy, and named him his successor in the kingdom.

On coming to the throne, he was involved in a war against his cousins, the sons of Pallas, who were provoked that an illegitimate son should be preferred to them in the kingdom. But being unable to resist the valour of Theseus, they were vanquished and dispersed. As Theseus could not bear to be idle, he employed himself in destroying the monsters that infested the country. He killed the bull of Marathon ; and freed the Athenians from a tribute of seven boys and as many girls, imposed upon them by Minos king of Crete ; who, to revenge the death of his brother Androgeus, whom

the Athenians had slain, invaded their country, and forced them to submit to that severe condition. But Theseus having accompanied the children to Crete, attracted the affections of Ariadne the daughter of Minos, married her, and got the tribute discharged. This seems to be the simple truth of the matter; but the poets, in their usual manner, have given the affair a more marvellous turn. They tell us, that Theseus received from Ariadne a clue to conduct him through the labyrinth, wherein was kept the minotaur, a monster, half man half bull, to which, by the command of an oracle, the Athenian children were given to be devoured; and that Theseus having accordingly, by the help of this clue, made his way through the labyrinth, and reached the monster, attacked and killed it, and so relieved his countrymen from the tribute.

Theseus, after effecting the object of his journey, set out in triumph on his return for Athens. But having on his way lost Ariadne, who was run away with by a priest of Bacchus, he was so grieved, that he omitted to hang out white colours, the signal of victory agreed on with his father. Egeus, from this, believing his son to be dead, jumped into the sea that now bears his name, and drowned himself.

Theseus, having procured peace to his country, applied himself to govern it with wisdom. He is said to have induced all the inhabitants of Attica, partly by his authority, partly by persuasion, to remove from their villages to Athens, there to live in one great community; and to have invited, by a public proclamation, people of all other nations to come and settle at Athens, where they were to be in every respect on an equal footing with the natives of Attica. This produced a large increase in the number of inhabitants, and in the extent of the city.

After accomplishing this undertaking, he converted the system of government into a sort of republic, reserving only to himself the command of the

army, and the support of the laws. He divided the people into three classes; the nobility, the farmers or husbandmen, and the mechanics. All public offices were to be occupied by the nobility alone, but the rest of the people had the power of choosing the particular person on whom each office was to be conferred. He established the tribunal of the Prytaneum, composed of fifty members; who, among other business, were to provide for the subsistence of such poor citizens as had done eminent service to the state.

After having properly settled the administration, he spent the remainder of his life in travelling about in quest of adventures, in which to signalise his valour. He had a share in the victory over the Centaurs; in the conquest of the golden fleece; in the chase of the Calydonian boar; and in both the wars of Thebes. Theseus and Pirithous, having met with an intention to fight, were so struck with admiration at the sight of each other, that they laid aside all hostile intentions, and from that time forward lived in the most perfect friendship. They of concert forcibly carried off the famous Helen daughter of Tindarus; and afterwards went to the court of Aidoneus, surnamed Pluto, king of the Molossi, to carry off his daughter likewise. But Pluto slew Pirithous, and threw Theseus into prison, whence he was released by Hercules. The poets have involved these events in abundance of fables. Theseus, on returning to Athens, found great cause of disquiet from his family-affairs, which ended in the tragical deaths of his wife Phedra, and of his son Hippolitus. Menestheus too had taken the opportunity of his absence to prejudice the public against him. Theseus, thinking it beneath him to punish the ungrateful Athenians, satisfied himself with abandoning their country, and retired to the island of Scyros. Some time after, Lycomedes, chief of that island, growing jealous of

his merit, laid an ambush for him, and caused him to be thrown from the top of a precipice.

Theseus was the greatest king the Athenians ever had. His tomb, in after times, became famous by being made a refuge for slaves.

Menestheus distinguished himself by his military skill in the war against Troy.

In the reign of Codrus, the Heraclidæ being at war with the Athenians, were told by the oracle, that they would be victorious if they did not kill Codrus. That prince, hearing of the response, disguised himself in a peasant's habit, and, entering the enemy's camp, provoked them to kill him. When the Heraclidæ were informed of their having slain Codrus, they immediately fled.

Codrus was the last king of Athens. For, on his death, the government became republican, by the establishment of archons; an office which was at first hereditary, and little inferior, in point of power, to royalty itself. We shall in the next chapter resume the history of this republic.



CHAP. II.

Affairs of Greece, from the abolition of the kingly government in the principal states, till the time that Hippias took refuge in Persia.

FROM what has been said in the preceding chapter, it appears that the government in all the different states of Greece was originally monarchical. But the tyranny of their princes soon produced a total alteration in the system; awakened in the minds of the Greeks that ardent desire of liberty which ever after so strongly marked the character of this wonderful people, and threw them into so many separate republics. For some time, indeed, we shall see private persons now and then appear, who, prompted by their ambition, attempt to become sovereigns of their country, some by policy

and address, some by open violence and the force of arms.

But of all these states, Sparta and Athens distinguished themselves far above the rest ; and by their extraordinary merit, and the wisdom of their laws, acquired so great a superiority over the others, that they became the main springs of the political machine of Greece. Between these two republics a spirit of rivalry very naturally arose, which at last broke out into long contests and dissensions : in the course of which we shall see the other states sometimes siding with Sparta, sometimes with Athens, as their different interests incline them. The principal events, therefore, of this history more immediately respect those two republics, which constantly occupy the foremost place, and appear, on all occasions, to sustain the fate of Greece. We proceed, therefore, to resume the history of Sparta and Athens, from the period at which we stopped in the last chapter.

Lycurgus, by his equitable and disinterested conduct in defeating the barbarous intentions of the queen, and procuring Carilaus, yet a child in the cradle, to be declared king, had highly offended that princess ; who, in revenge, employed all her interest to form a faction against him, and got him accused of a conspiracy against the state. But Lycurgus soon withdrew himself from the danger of these machinations. Perceiving that the laws were entirely disregarded, he meditated an extraordinary reformation in the government. For that purpose he resolved to travel into foreign countries, that he might have an opportunity of observing with his own eyes the various customs and institutions of different nations the most renowned for the wisdom of their legislation.

With this view he first went to the island of Crete, where the celebrated Minos had established a system of laws ; the rigid spirit of which was much to the liking of Lycurgus. This Minos was

a powerful prince, who had flourished 100 years before the Trojan war, and whose virtues had procured him the highest esteem. Having subdued the island of Crete, he resolved to secure his conquest by the wisdom of his laws. The government there, at the time of his conquest, was monarchical. But to bring that form of government to its utmost perfection, Minos judged it necessary to make the prince as subject to the power of the laws as the nation was subject to the power of the prince ; who by that means might have an unlimited power of doing good, while at the same time he should be totally restrained from doing mischief; the laws committing to him the most precious of all trusts, the care of a whole people, on condition of his ruling them as a father and protector, not as an oppressor and tyrant. From Crete, Lycurgus went into Asia ; where he collected into one body the works of Homer, which before were dispersed about in detached fragments. From Asia he travelled into Egypt, where he acquired a vast fund of knowledge.

After having maturely considered the various forms of government that had fallen under his observation, and deliberately weighed the advantages and disadvantages of each, he adopted into his own system what appeared to him the most eligible. The result of all these painful researches, was the famous Spartan legislation, which has been the wonder of succeeding ages ; and which to us, in these latter times, would appear to be entirely chimerical and impracticable, were it not attested past all possibility of doubt by every ancient author who speaks of it ; many of whom, such as Plato, Aristotle, Xenophon, and Plutarch, were eye-witnesses of what they mention. It is, besides, an undoubted fact, that this system subsisted during a space of more than 700 years. We cannot, however, sufficiently admire how it was possible for one man to succeed in establishing a form of govern-

ment, so violently repugnant in several particulars to the most powerful passions of the human soul.

During the absence of Lycurgus, the Lacedemonians became extremely turbulent, and Sparta was on the brink of falling into downright anarchy. Perceiving how much they stood in need of a man of superior parts and understanding, they dispatched messengers to intreat Lycurgus to return. He immediately obeyed the invitation. But before proceeding to promulgate his laws, he chose to fortify himself with the authority of the gods; and for that purpose he went to consult the oracle of Delphos, where he found means to obtain a favourable response.

884. Upon his arrival at Sparta, he first communicated his scheme in private to the leading men of the city. Having procured their approbation, he proceeded to the market-place, escorted by a number of armed men; and there explained to the people the alterations he intended to bring about in the government, and the new institutions he proposed to establish. We forbear at present to enter on a detail of those institutions, because the course of the narrative would thereby be too much interrupted; but we shall speak of them at length in the sequel.

Lycurgus was almost entirely employed, during the remainder of his life, in bringing his laws to perfection, and in enforcing the observance of them. In this he met with much opposition; and displayed, perhaps, no less fortitude and prudence in prevailing with his fellow-citizens to submit to his regulations, than he had shewn wisdom in devising them.

After having put the finishing hand to his work, and tasted of the pleasure of seeing his institutions firmly established, and his countrymen accustomed to the exercise of them, he declared his intention of consulting the oracle, whether any further improvement were necessary; and obtained their solemn

promise to observe them till his return. On arriving at Delphos, he was assured by the priestess, that while Sparta kept his laws in observation, she should be the most illustrious and happy city in the world. Lycurgus transmitted this response to Sparta; and considering his plans to be now entirely completed, he died a voluntary death, by abstaining from all nourishment.

The reformation of the Spartan government by Lycurgus, is reckoned a second revolution there. For the future, therefore, we are to consider that state as a republic, in which the kings were no more than the principal magistrates.

Historians place the birth of Homer not many years prior to that of Lycurgus.

Soon after the death of Lycurgus, a war having broken out between the Lacedemonians and Argives about a small territory called Thyrea, both parties, to spare the lives of their citizens, agreed to terminate the dispute by 300 chosen men of each side. These 600 combatants engaging accordingly, fought with such fury and obstinacy, that they were all killed on the spot except three, two of whom were Argives, and the third a Lacedemonian named Orthrades.* As both parties claimed the victory, a general battle ensued, in which the Lacedemonians, remained the conquerors. Orthrades disdaining to survive the rest of his fellow-soldiers, killed himself on the field of battle.†

This year Theopompus, one of the Lacedemonian kings, established the ephori in Sparta; or rather, the common people, pro-

* The reader will be struck with the similarity between this combat, and that of the Horatii and Curiatii in the Roman history, and a much later one still recorded in the history of Scotland, which took place in 1396, to terminate a feud between two Highland clans.

† Rome was founded in the year before Christ 753; and, three years after, the rape of the Sabine women is said to have happened.

voked by the oppression under which they groaned, prevailed with that king to give them those magistrates, as a check on the power of the kings on the one hand, and of the senate on the other.

The Lacedemonians about the same time
743. declared war against the Messenians, for having violated some Lacedemonian young women, who had gone, according to custom, to pay their devotions at a temple on the confines of both states. To revenge this insult, the Lacedemonians, under the command of Alcmenus, surprised the town of Amphea by night, and put all the inhabitants to the sword. The Messenians were not at that time in a situation to make reprisals. But, about four years after, they marched into Laconia under the command of their king Euphaes, and came to an engagement with the Lacedemonians, to which the night alone put an end.

Next year the Lacedemonians took the field, after binding themselves by oath not to return to Sparta till they should reduce every place in the possession of the Messenians. A battle ensued, in which both parties fought with such obstinacy, that fatigue obliged them to separate by mutual consent. The Messenians, exhausted by the double calamity of a war and of a plague, assembled at Ithome, a strong place situated on the summit of a hill, and sent to consult the oracle at Delphos about the means of relief in this desperate extremity. The oracle returned for answer, That they must sacrifice to the gods a virgin of royal blood; and Aristodemus, a Messenian of royal extraction, in obedience to the divine command, offered up his own daughter. About the same time, a bloody battle happened in the neighbourhood of Ithome, where the Messenians performed prodigies of valour to rescue the body of their king Euphaes, who had fallen covered with wounds in the fight; and they were at last successful. Here Aristodemus obtained the prize of valour, as the person that had

fought with the greatest bravery ; and he was likewise chosen king in place of Euphaes, who died of his wounds.

Aristodemus having led his countrymen to another engagement with the Lacedemonians, defeated them, and took their king Theopompus, whom, together with 300 Spartans more, he put to death in cold blood. The Lacedemonians, apprehensive lest their families should fail in the mean time, by their long absence from home, in consequence of the oath they had taken, sent back to Sparta all the soldiers who had joined the army after the taking of that oath, to cohabit with the wives of those that remained. The issue of this extraordinary connection were distinguished by the name of Parthenians ; who, as soon as they were able to carry arms, banished themselves of their own accord from Sparta, and formed a settlement at Tarentum in Italy.

Four years after, a general action ensued between the Lacedemonians and Messenians : in which a party of the latter attacked the Lacedemonians from an ambuscade, put them to flight, and procured their countrymen the victory. But though the Spartans had lost in this engagement the flower of their troops, they nevertheless laid siege to Ithome. Aristodemus, seeing his countrymen reduced to the last extremity, killed himself in despair on the tomb of his daughter. The rest of the Messenians, after enduring the utmost miseries of famine, were obliged at last to capitulate. The Lacedemonians made the greatest part of them slaves, and forced them to cultivate their grounds ; but many of them escaped and took refuge among different nations. This first was of twenty years continuance.

The Messenians, after enduring the Lacedemonian yoke for thirty years, resolved at last to attempt the recovery of their liberty. For this purpose they put themselves under the command of Aristomenes, a young man of extra-

ordinary bravery, and great skill in the art of war; and under his conduct vanquished their enemies in several engagements. The Lacedemonians, being hard pressed, consulted the oracle. The response bore, That they must request a general from the Athenians; who, in derision, sent them one Tyrteus a poet. The Lacedemonians found their affairs not at all mended by this expedient; and after being beaten in three successive battles, they resolved to return to Sparta. But this resolution was opposed by Tyrteus, who, to rouse their courage, recited to them some verses that he had composed with great care. These verses were so well calculated to inspire bravery, and a contempt of danger, that they animated the Lacedemonians to the highest pitch of martial rage. They required with one voice to be instantly led against the enemy; and, after a most bloody battle, obtained a complete victory. The remains of the Messenian army retreated to mount Eira, where they defended themselves a long time against all the efforts of the Lacedemonians. But their general, Aristomenes, having fallen amidst a crowd of Spartans, upon whom he had made a most desperate attack, his countrymen were so discouraged by his death, and so weakened by their repeated engagements with the Lacedemonians, that they were at last overpowered. Such of them as fell into the hands of the enemy, were reduced to the condition of Helots. The rest, seeing their country ruined past all hopes of recovery, retired to Sicily, and there founded a city, called at first Messene, and afterwards Messina. Their last brave general, Aristomenes, was the sworn enemy of the Spartans, and, while he lived, their constant terror.*

We have already observed, that monarchy was abolished at Athens under the children of Codrus, and governors called archons set up in place of the

* The combat between the Horatii and Curiatii is placed in the year before Christ 667.

king. Those were the principal magistrates of the republic, and were bound to govern the state according to the established laws. In the beginning they enjoyed their office for life, and Medon was the first who was invested with that dignity. Afterwards, upon the death of Alcmeon, the people created nine archons, and confined their authority to the space of ten years. The chief of them was called Eponymus Archon, and the year was distinguished by his name; the second was called King; the third Polemarchus; and the remaining six bore the general name of Thesmothetæ.

Such a limited authority as that vested in the archons, was insufficient to curb men of so turbulent a disposition. The Athenians, accordingly, were for several years distracted by controversies and factions. For having as yet no written laws, they disagreed about almost every point, both of religion and government. Cylon took advantage of these troubles, and seized the citadel; but the Athenians found means to quell his insurrection.

Having learned, by experience, that real liberty consists in a due dependence on laws and government, the Athenians resolved to take the most effectual measures for putting an end to their dissensions. With this view they cast their eyes on one of their archons named Draco, a citizen of
623. exemplary virtue, and the most rigid severity of manners; but whose extreme rigour, in point of government, bordered on inhumanity. Chosen by the Athenians to be their lawgiver, Draco, from a zeal to stop the licentiousness of their manners, fell into the opposite extreme, and made death the punishment of the most trivial offences, even of idleness and indolence. On this account the laws of Draco were said to have been written, not with ink, but with blood: and their excessive severity procured them the fate of all violent institutions; they quickly fell into disuse.

At length arose a man worthy to prescribe laws

643. to the Athenians. This was the famous Solon, a native of Salamis. Having lately restored the Athenians to the government of that island by a stratagem, he had, by that exploit, acquired great reputation; and his integrity, his wisdom, his knowledge in the science of government, but, above all, the mildness of his disposition, soon procured him the esteem of his fellow-citizens. The Athenians, therefore, pitched on him to restore tranquillity in their city; created him archon-extraordinary; and invested him with full authority to make such reformation in the government as he should judge necessary. The unlimited power with which he was intrusted might have conducted him to the throne; but his virtue and moderation would not permit him to give way to the temptation.

Solon applied himself with great care and diligence to discharge the trust reposed in him by his countrymen. He settled the public government on a more steady foundation, and devised for the Athenians a body of excellent laws. Of his institutions, so far as they regarded the public administration, we shall afterwards speak at some length. His private laws fall not within our design.

After having published his laws, and bound the citizens by oath to obey them, Solon left Athens for the space of ten years; both with a view that his institutions might, in the mean time, take deep root, and that he might avoid the daily complaints and difficulties started to him about their execution and interpretation. In this interval he travelled into Egypt, and visited Cræsus king of Lydia. That prince having made an ostentatious display of his vast wealth and magnificence, to excite the admiration of Solon, had the mortification to see them regarded by the philosopher with the most stoical indifference, and could not draw from him the smallest compliment on that account. Solon only took that opportunity to remark, that no man could

with certainty boast of his happiness till the instant of his death.

During the absence of Solon, great disorders were occasioned at Athens by three factions formed under three different heads; Megacles, Pisistratus, and Lycurgus. Megacles was extremely powerful by his wealth, being the son of Alcmenus, whom King Croesus had loaded with riches, and having married the daughter of Clistenus, one of the most opulent princes of Greece, Pisistratus, by the mildness of his behaviour, his affability, and his liberality to the poorer citizens, had acquired the highest popularity; but his insinuating address was no more than an artful cover to his ambitious designs. Solon found things in this situation on his return to Athens.

Pisistratus, the better to affect his purpose, employed one of the most singular and basest stratagems. Having wounded himself in several parts of his body, he ordered his friends to carry him all covered with blood to the market-place, where he told the people, that he had suffered this cruel treatment from the enemies he had created to himself by his zeal for the good of the republic. The populace, moved by his story and appearance, rose in his favour, overpowered the opposite factions, and appointed a guard of fifty men for his person. With the assistance of these, and of a greater number of his own creatures whom he armed, Pisistratus first seized the citadel, and soon after made himself master of the whole city.

Solon, after upbraiding Pisistratus in vain
560. with the injustice of his usurpation, and the people with their cowardice and folly, retired from Athens, overwhelmed with grief, and went to pass the remaining part of his life in the island of Cyprus. But, sorrow at seeing the oppression of his country, soon put a period to his days, and he died the first year after his retirement, at the age of eighty. Solon certainly possessed a philosophical

spirit, and was animated with an extraordinary zeal for the republican form of government. But his system was fundamentally faulty, in so far as it threw all the power into the hands of the multitude, who, as the event of Pisistratus's intrigues evinced, are extremely apt to be led astray by an artful designing man. It must, however, be allowed that he gave the Athenians, who had been bred up in the greatest licentiousness, the best notions of order, law, and justice, of which at that time they were perhaps capable.

Solon was contemporary with the seven wise men of Greece, and was himself accounted one of their number. The names of the other six were, Thales, Bias, Pittacus, Cleobulus, Periander, and Chilo. They were honoured with the title of wise men, on account of their having been all legislators, in some degree or other, and of their having delivered many general maxims of morality in short laconic sentences.

Pisistratus enjoyed his ill-gotten tyranny for no longer a space than three years, Megacles and Lycurgus having united their factions and procured his expulsion. But Megacles, soon becoming jealous of his rival's power, offered his daughter in marriage to Pisistratus, and the sovereign authority along with her. Pisistratus accepted the offer, and Lycurgus was expelled. But Pisistratus, the more effectually to secure the popular approbation, resolved to make his restoration appear as the immediate effect of divine interposition; and for that purpose prevailed on a woman of a fine majestic figure to play the part of Minerva on the occasion, and in that character to announce his arrival. The woman, accordingly, assuming the dress in which that goddess was usually represented, and appearing suddenly in the city, mounted on a magnificent chariot, acted her part to perfection, and proclaimed aloud, that she, Minerva, was just about to bring back Pisistratus. The people regarding

this piece of roguery as a divine mandate, received the tyrant with the utmost joy.

Hipparchus and Hippias, the sons of Pisistratus by a former marriage, apprehensive lest their brothers by his present wife might supplant them in the succession to the tyranny, artfully instilled into the mind of their father injurious suspicions of their step-mother. Megacles, to support his daughter, bribed the greater part of the Athenians, induced them to revolt, and forced Pisistratus to fly a second time, and to take refuge in the island of Eubœa, where he lived with his family eleven years. In the mean time his son Hippias, a man of an active intriguing disposition, having prevailed on several maritime towns to declare in his father's favour, Pisistratus soon saw himself at the head of a considerable body of troops, by whose assistance he surprised the city of Athens, at a time when he was not expected, and entered it as its conqueror.

To establish his authority, he thought it necessary to accomplish the destruction of those who supported the party of Megacles. But after having removed out of the way all who had power and inclination to oppose him, he applied himself to efface the remembrance of his cruelties; and, it must be acknowledged, that the mildness and justice of his subsequent administration made amends, in a great measure, for his former crimes; for from that time he applied his power to the best of purposes. His eloquence was of great service to him in regaining the public affection, and lulling the Athenians into a forgetfulness of their former liberty. He studied by every method to acquire popularity, particularly by throwing his gardens open to all the citizens; and, upon the whole, he justified the saying of Solon, that he would have been the best citizen of Athens, if he had not been the most ambitious. He ended his days in peace, and transmitted to his children his usurped sovereignty,

which he had enjoyed altogether for the space of thirty-three years, during the last seventeen years of which he had reigned in the utmost peace and tranquillity.

Hipparchus and Hippias, his sons, shared the kingdom between them, and lived in perfect harmony with each other; Hipparchus, as eldest brother, enjoying the chief honours. This man inherited his father's extraordinary love for the sciences. To inspire the Athenians, by the charms of poetry, with a taste for letters, and the polished manners which are a natural consequence of knowledge, he invited to his court Anacreon and Simonides, and patronized all men of distinguished genius. According to Plato, the tranquillity and happiness that prevailed during his reign, revived the idea of the golden age.

About the same time Polycrates usurped the sovereign power at Samos, and sacrificed his own brother to his desire of occupying the regal dignity alone. Having procured a fleet of 100 vessels, he rendered himself formidable to both Europe and Asia, and wantonly oppressed both his subjects and his neighbours. Sparta, by its warlike exploits, was now regarded as the principal republic of Greece. Its protection therefore was implored against the tyranny of Polycrates; and as the Spartans professed themselves the enemies of every species of despotism and oppression, they thought themselves bound in honour to check the progress of the tyrant. With this view they fitted out a fleet, made a descent upon the island of Samos, and laid siege to the town. But their enterprise miscarried; and, after being repulsed in repeated assaults, they were at last obliged to relinquish the undertaking, and to return home. Polycrates soon after fell into the hands of the Persians, and was by them crucified. Eaces succeeded him in the tyranny; but the people found means to throw off the yoke, and to recover their liberty.

Hippias, after reigning eighteen years at Athens, became at last cruel and despotic. The Athenians, therefore, grew weary of his tyranny, and formed a conspiracy against him and his brother. The faction of the Alcmeonides, so called from their leader Megacles, the son of Alcmenus, were the fomentors and principal actors in this conspiracy. Harmodius and Aristogiton, both citizens of Athens, and mutually connected by friendship, resolved to revenge an affront offered to the daughter of the former by Hipparchus, who had obliged her to retire from a public procession at which she was intitled to have assisted, carrying a basket of flowers. Nothing less would satisfy the resentment of these two men than the deposition of the tyrants. Having concerted the proper measures for their enterprise, they secretly imparted their plan to a small number of the citizens, and fixed the day of execution to be the feast of Panathenea, when all the citizens wore arms. They accordingly attacked and slew Hipparchus; but were themselves instantly apprehended and put to death.

Hippias, having escaped the fate of his brother, studied the best means of securing his life for the future. He put to the torture the accomplices of the murderers of his brother, to force them to discover the other circumstances of the plot. On this occasion a woman called Lionna, who had been very intimately connected with Harmodius, behaved with the utmost heroism. She supported, with a courage infinitely superior to what might have been expected from her sex, the most cruel torments; and lest the violence of the torture should at last make her utter what she chose to conceal, she cut out her own tongue. The Athenians afterwards erected to her memory a statue without a tongue. Several citizens were sacrificed to the suspicions of Hippias, who obliged all the partisans of the faction of Alcmeonides to fly from Athens.

The Alcmeonides, in the mean time, were very active in contriving means of bringing themselves back. With this view they were so lucky as to engage in their interests, by very liberal presents, the priestess of Delphos ; who, as often as the Lacedemonians came to consult her, or to implore her intercession with the gods in their behalf, constantly answered them, “ That they must free Athens from the tyranny of the Pisistratidæ.” This stratagem had the desired effect. The Lacedemonians fitted out a fleet, and made a descent upon Attica ; but Hippias getting notice of their purpose, made the necessary preparations to receive them. On hearing that they were landed, he marched to oppose them, killed their commander, and put them to flight. But this check only served to exasperate the Lacedemonians ; who again returned into Attica with a fresh army, defeated the Thessalian cavalry, which were the chief strength of the tyrant’s army, and laid siege to Athens. Hippias, unwilling to expose his children to the consequence of a siege, sent them secretly out of the city, to be carried to some place of safety. But the children having fallen into the hands of the enemy, Hippias, to save their lives, readily agreed to resign his sovereignty ; and, in consequence of his agreement, bade a last farewell to Athens, and retired to Sigeum in Phrygia.

Thus the Athenians recovered their liberty after a tyranny of fifty years’ duration.

They erected statues to the memory of Harmodius and Aristogiton, who had begun this revolution, and set them up to public view, that the sight of them might inspire the citizens with a more violent hatred of tyranny.*

Athens, however, enjoyed this calm but a very short while. Clisthenes and Isagoras, both power-

* In the preceding year, viz. 511, Tarquin was expelled from Rome, and consular government established there.

ful citizens, mutually aspired to the chief authority, and created two new factions. But Clisthenes, being richer than his rival, easily brought over the populace to his side, and soon got the better of his antagonist. Clisthenes made several alterations in the form of government; and, in particular, created six new tribes. It was he who invented the punishment of ostracism, whereby the people might satisfy their jealousy against any citizen whom power, wealth, or abilities, set too far above his fellow-citizens, by banishing him the city for the space of ten years. The name of this punishment was derived from a Greek word signifying a particular kind of shell, on which each citizen inscribed his vote on such occasions.

The Lacedemonians discovering, in the mean time, the trick of the Delphic priestess, and being already jealous of the Athenians, desired to avail themselves of having delivered them from tyranny, by assuming over them a sort of superiority. With this view, Cleomenes king of Sparta espoused the cause of Isagoras, who had taken refuge in that city, and procured the banishment of Clisthenes from Athens. But, not satisfied with that, he marched against Athens at the head of an army, expelled from thence 700 families, together with all the partisans of Clisthenes, and took possession of the citadel. Here, however, he was invested by the Athenians; and, after enduring a three months' siege, was at last obliged to capitulate, on condition of being allowed to depart in freedom with his Spartans. But all the Athenians who had assisted him in this exploit were put to death. Upon this Clisthenes, and the rest who had been banished, were recalled. Cleomenes, however, of new exerted himself in favour of Isagoras, and for that purpose made another incursion into Attica, supported by the Bœotians. But the Athenians had the advantage in several actions that ensued on that occasion.

The Lacedemonians, perceiving the thriving condition of the Athenians since they had recovered their liberty, began to deliberate about restoring tyranny among them, and setting Hippias again on the throne. For this purpose Hippias was invited to Sparta, to assist at an assembly wherein the question was to be debated. In this assembly Cleomenes made a speech in favour of Hippias, but without any effect. For Sosicles, the deputy from Corinth, spoke after him, and shewed the assembly, with such eloquence and good sense, how unworthy it was in states who professed themselves the enemies of tyranny, to undertake the defence and support of a tyrant,—that every one present assented to his opinion.

Hippias, thus disappointed, retired to Artaphernes, the Persian governor of Sardis, and implored his assistance. That satrap, delighted with so fair an opportunity of reducing under the power of his master Darius so important a city as Athens, which might open an easy way to the conquest of the rest of Greece, gave a very favourable reception to Hippias, and persuaded Darius to summon the Athenians to replace him on the throne. But the threats of the king of Persia were ineffectual. The Athenians returned an absolute refusal to comply with his demand, resolving to endure every extremity, rather than to open their gates to the tyrant. Hippias, therefore, may be considered as the first cause of the quarrel between the Greeks and Persians; though it is true, that the latter received other subjects of provocation, of which we shall take notice in the sequel.

EMINENT WRITERS, PHILOSOPHERS, &c.

As the first age of Greece had its heroes, so it had likewise its poets, who devoted their talents to ce-

lebrate the praises of their country, and of the great men it produced; whom, by the excess of their praise, they transformed from heroes into demi-gods. To the times of peace and tranquillity, therefore, in this period, it should seem, that the commencement of poetry ought to be fixed. Though Homer is the most ancient poet whose works have been transmitted to us, it is certain that the art of poetry had before his time arrived among the Greeks to a considerable state of perfection. This is indisputably established by tradition. For the names of Linus, Orpheus, and Museus, which occur so frequently both in the Greek and Latin poets and historians, are sufficient evidence of the existence of those poets. But as we have no opportunity of judging of their works, of which it is very doubtful whether any remains have come to our hands, we must place Homer at the head of the poets whose works yet exist.

Homer is generally believed, and on very probable grounds, to have lived before the institution of the Olympic games; for otherwise it is hardly to be imagined that he would have omitted to take notice of those games in his works, as they would have afforded him so excellent a field for description, an ornament of which he appears to have been extremely fond. His birth, however, seems to be placed with a good deal of certainty, both by Usher's chronology and the Arundal tables, in the year of the world 3120, that is, about 340 years after the siege of Troy: and he is commonly accounted a native either of Colophon or of Smyrna.

Homer is usually represented as blind; and we are told that he employed himself in wandering through the country in the character of an itinerant bard. This, however, must not depreciate in our eyes, his wonderful merit, of which his works convey so high an idea; where we see him carrying at once to the summit of perfection the art of epic poetry, of which he is accounted the inventor.

The two principal poems of Homer are the *Iliad*

and the *Odyssey*. The subject of the *Iliad* is the wrath of Achilles, which proved so fatal to the Greeks when besieging Troy: the voyages and adventures of Ulysses, after the sacking of that city, form the subject of the *Odyssey*.

The war against Troy, which furnishes the subject of these immortal poems, has been called in question by some authors, who fancy it to be altogether the production of Homer's invention. But their labours to convince the world of the truth of this opinion have been extremely vain. For, without mentioning the other ancient authors who record that event, it is incredible that Homer would have employed his heaven-born muse on a subject not heard of before. So accurate a judge of human nature must have felt, that a subject purely fictitious, however harmoniously sung, could have drawn from his hearers but a momentary attention. Had not the subject of his poem been deeply interesting, much of its merit must have been overlooked, and much of that great fame at which he aspired must of course have been lost.

We may therefore very reasonably conclude, that the event of the war against Troy was not only notorious, but was in Homer's time regarded as the most signal and important transaction in which his countrymen had been till then engaged. We must, however, remember, that the poet lived about three centuries later than the historical event which he celebrates. Hence it is more than probable, that he would avail himself of this latitude to render the circumstances more subservient to his fancy; and that he would even take liberties with some of the principal facts, as well to flatter those for whose immediate pleasure he composed his poem, as to give fuller scope to his poetical enthusiasm.

Cicero says, that the works of Homer are rather painting than poetry; so skilful is he to delineate, as it were before the eyes of the reader, the circumstances he desires to describe, which are generally the most sublime and striking to be found in nature.

Horace prefers him, on account of the knowledge and instruction with which he abounds, to the most skilful philosophers. Quintilian has given a very high eulogium of him; and has conveyed, in few words, a just idea of the surprising variety of style which he employs:—"When describing lofty and important circumstances, his expression is inimitably sublime. In minute, it is remarkably just and proper. In copiousness, and perspicuity, in the serious and the tender tone, we are at a loss which to admire most, his judgment or his eloquence." Homer is peculiarly happy in the harmony of his numbers, and the judicious arrangement of his words and periods. In the article of description he is, as has been just observed, rather a painter than a poet, and in that particular excels all the poets that ever wrote. In describing the march of an army—the majesty of Jove—the gods fighting—the parting of Hector and Andromache, he lays before our eyes so many beautiful and lively pieces of painting. Nothing can be more ingenious than his machinery, nor more properly introduced. In vain have some modern writers attempted to criticise, and to find fault with his works; like the shades in a picture, their remarks have only served to make his beauties more conspicuous. But it must be acknowledged, that the many superficial and petulant criticisms advanced by the censurers of this divine bard, are perhaps more than counterbalanced by the extravagant and absurd commendations lavished upon him by some of his injudicious admirers.*

His fame rests on the firmest and most unequi-

* Here I must be forgiven for quoting four lines of a noble English poet, which, though frequently repeated by many of the admirers of our immortal bard, and though inserted by Mr Pope in his preface to his translation of the Iliad, appear to me to be extravagant even to absurdity. The lines are these:—

"Read Homer once, and you can read no more;
"For all books else appear so mean, so poor,
"Verse will seem prose: but still persist to read,
"And Homer will be all the books you need."

vocal foundations. His countrymen, who thoroughly understood the characters and the manners he described, and the language in which he wrote, and who excelled all mankind in the acuteness of their understanding, and the exquisite delicacy of their taste, regarded his *Iliad* and his *Odyssey* as the most perfect works of human genius. Great cities contended for the honour of the poet's birth: the venerable *Lycurgus* collected and transcribed the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* with his own hand, and introduced them from *Ionia* into *Greece*: *Solon* ordained them to be solemnly recited in the *Athenian* republic: *Alexander the Great* was so passionately fond of their perusal, that he placed them every night under his pillow: and the most ingenious of the ancient critics deduced from these poems the justest rules of criticism. To crown his praise, the best epic poets in succeeding times have looked up to *Homer* as the most perfect model for their imitation. They have not only copied him exactly in the arrangement and conduct of their subject, but many passages in their poems are little else than paraphrases from his admirable works. But the style of *Homer* can be truly admired in the original alone, where he will be found to have employed to the utmost advantage the inimitable perfections of the finest language ever spoken by men.

Homer is, besides, highly valuable on account of the knowledge he affords us of the manners, sacrifices, feasts, sieges, and battles of the men of those ancient times. The purest maxims of morality are every where inculcated by him. Under the emblem of *Jupiter*, he describes an only and almighty Deity, whose decrees are fate, who is the source of all goodness and happiness, and whose providence directs the most minute events that occur throughout the universe.

Hesiod was nearly contemporary with *Homer*. He was born at *Cumes*, a city of *Etolia*, and educated at *Ascra* in *Boeotia*. Three of his perform-

ances have come down to us :—1st, His Works and Days, in which he treats of agriculture. This piece was the model of Virgil's Georgics, and abounds with excellent maxims, both with respect to the subject of which he treats, and to human life in general. 2dly, His Theogony, or Genealogy of the Gods. This is the most certain account of the ancient heathen mythology. 3dly, The Shield of Hercules, so called from its being a description of the shield of that hero. His taste in writing was extremely different from that of Homer, whose constant aim was the sublime, while that of Hesiod was the beautiful. Rural objects were the favourite theme of Hesiod's muse.

Archilocus was a native of Paros. Iambic verses, a species of poetry adapted to violent and passionate subjects, were invented by this poet. Quintilian says, that his style was nervous and expressive, but that his manner was very satirical and licentious.

Alceus was a native of Mytilene. From him the Alcean verses derived their name. His pieces were severe satires against the tyrants of Lesbos, and against Pittacus in particular. His style, according to Quintilian, was lofty, and bore a great resemblance to that of Homer. Besides his merit as a poet, he was likewise a brave soldier.

Sappho was contemporary with Alceus, and a native of the same place. She invented the sapphic verses, and was honoured with the name of the Tenth Muse. Alceus was a lover of her's, but his addresses seem to have been ineffectual. She herself was greatly enamoured of Phaon; who, on the other hand, paid very little regard to her passionate and beautiful complaints. The purity of her manners was by no means answerable to the beauty of her poetry. Her poems are chiefly admired on account of her skilful description of the passions.

614. *Stesichorus*, a native of Himera in Sicily, brought lyric poetry to perfection. None of his works have reached us, but they were much valued by the ancients for their gravity and dignity.

Thespis was contemporary with Solon, and
566. a native of Icaria, a town in Attica. He is regarded as the inventor of tragedy, which before his time was a sort of farce, intermixed with songs in honour of Bacchus, and performed in the highways and streets, or wherever the performers happened to fall in with the throngest audience. Thespis gave it a different turn. He carried about his performers in a cart, which served them likewise for a stage; he caused them to besmear their faces with the lees of wine, and introduced a person in the intervals of the chorus who spoke a magnificent description of some extraordinary action. This was, in a manner, the cradle of tragedy.

Simonides, a native of Ceos, one of the islands called Cyclades, distinguished himself by his elegiac verses. His answer to Hiero's question, "*What is God?*" is well known. Simonides at first desired one day to consider of the question; when that was elapsed, he demanded two days more, then four, and so on for a considerable time, always doubling the space he had last requested. Hiero, surprised at this behaviour, asked him the reason of it. "Because (answered Simonides) the more I meditate on the subject of your question, the more incomprehensible I find it." His verses are much commended by the ancients, and have acquired him great reputation.

The origin of philosophy, as well as that of poetry, is likewise fixed to this period; when several Greeks, whose dispositions did not incline them to business, applied themselves to the study of nature.

Thales, a native of Miletus, and the founder
600. of the Ionic sect, is thought to have led the way. He learned astronomy of the priests of Memphis, and was the first Greek that treated of natural philosophy. He gave general notions of the universe; and maintained that an only supreme intelligence regulated all its motions. He distinguished the sphere into eight circles, and discovered the cause of eclipses, which in those days were

accounted prodigies. Valerius Maximus tells of him, that on being asked, Whether a man could conceal his actions from the Deity? He answered, “How is that possible, since he cannot conceal from him even his thoughts.” From his strong attachment to study he declined marriage. His great knowledge procured him a place among the seven wise men of Greece.

Anaximander, his scholar, distinguished the four elements, and found out the obliquity of the ecliptic.

Although these first philosophers did not arrive at an accurate knowledge of natural philosophy, they have nevertheless the honour of having pointed out the way to their followers in the same track, to attain more exact discoveries.

Heraclitus was a native of Ephesus, where he became the founder of a sect of philosophers. We know little more of him, except that he was a professed misanthrope; that he beheld with pity all the actions of men; that he constantly wept for their misery, and thence obtained the name of the *crying* philosopher.

Democritus was a native of Abdera in Thrace, and lived in the time of Xerxes king of Persia. As a philosopher, he was in high esteem. His desire of knowledge induced him to travel through the greatest part of the then known world; and in those journeys he spent a very considerable fortune. He lived in perfect indifference about all the events of life, and used to laugh at the follies of mankind. His residing for the most part among tombs, inclined many to believe him to be disordered in his judgment; and the inhabitants of Abdera intreated Hippocrates, the famous physician, to go and see him. Hippocrates accordingly paid him a visit; but on discoursing with him, immediately discovered him to be a man of extraordinary knowledge and understanding. Diogenes Laertius assures us, that Democritus possessed a fine genius, and had acquired a great fund of the most valuable learning.

APPENDIX.

PART I.

Of the Spartan and Athenian Governments.

BEFORE proceeding to the more interesting part of our history, we have judged it proper to subjoin to this first book a separate and distinct account of the most curious particulars of Grecian polity and manners. This it was impossible to interweave with propriety into the body of the work ; and yet it is necessary that the reader should be acquainted with the subject, because otherwise he could not have an accurate comprehension of many of the historical passages that follow. As the particulars of which we mean at this time to treat, have a strong connexion with, and serve to illustrate, one another, we thought it best to throw them altogether in an appendix. We have divided this appendix into two parts. In the first we shall speak more particularly of the Spartan and Athenian governments ; and, in the second, we shall treat in general of the education of the youth—of the games and shows—of the principal circumstances relating to the art of war—and of the most remarkable particulars of the religion of the Greeks.

SECT. I.

THE Spartan institutions may be considered under two distinct heads :—1st, So far as they regard-

ed the public government of the state. 2dly, So far as they regarded the private lives of the citizens.

The public government of Sparta was managed by two kings, a senate, the people, and the ephori. Hence it partook of the nature of each of the three principal forms of government, monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy.

The civil power of the two kings of Sparta was very limited. In time of peace they enjoyed little else than the name of kings, and were truly no more than the two chief men of the senate. They were not at liberty by themselves alone to undertake any public business whatever; all matters of that kind being determined by a plurality of voices in the senate. In time of war, indeed, they were invested with an absolute authority, in quality of generals. But they were accountable for their management. Their conduct was liable to investigation, and their persons subject to punishment. We may therefore easily conceive, that the two kings of Sparta made but a poor figure in time of peace.

The senate was the grand institution of Lycurgus. It was intended to counterbalance the power of the kings on the one hand, and that of the people on the other. It was composed of thirty members, including the two kings. The whole legislative authority was lodged in their hands, and every point was determined by a plurality of voices.

The power of the people was by Lycurgus very much confined. Their principal privilege was that of choosing the members of the senate. Their assent indeed was necessary to give sanction to the laws. But they were not permitted to reason or to deliberate upon such matters as were laid before them; being obliged simply to approve or to reject the opinion proposed to them by the senate. Their assemblies too were in a great measure dependent on the senate, which might call them together or dismiss them at its pleasure.

This was the footing upon which Lycurgus e-

established the public government; and in this situation it remained for about 130 years after his death. About that period it was thought necessary to devise some curb to the power of the senate, which appeared to be too absolute and great. For this purpose, therefore, the ephori were created in the time of King Theopompus. These magistrates were five in number; were chosen by the people, and out of their own number; and continued only one year in office. They bore a great resemblance to the tribunes of the people among the Romans. Their authority was very great. They could oblige the inferior magistrates, and even the kings themselves, to render an account of their administration; and they could arrest and imprison the persons both of the senators and of the kings. A remarkable instance of this power happened in the case of Pausanias.

The most important article respecting the private policy of the Spartans, was the equal distribution of the lands. Lycurgus, when he began his reformation, finding the whole territory of the state in the hands of a few wealthy citizens, used his utmost endeavours to prevail with those citizens to relinquish their possessions, and to consent to an equal division of the lands among the whole members of the commonwealth. In this arduous work he was lucky enough at last to succeed. The whole territory of Laconia was distributed into 30,000 shares, and assigned to the inhabitants of the country; and the liberties of Sparta were, in like manner, divided into 9000 shares, and allotted to the inhabitants of the city. Each share contained as much ground as was judged sufficient for the subsistence of one family, which was computed to require about seventy bushels of grain, and a proportionable quantity of wine and oil.

To remove likewise, as far as possible, all pretensions to distinction that might arise from an inequality in point of moveable effects, Lycurgus

prohibited the use of gold and silver, and obliged the Spartans to confine themselves to iron money alone, of which the weight and small intrinsic value must render its use extremely difficult. By these means he banished luxury and magnificence, brought riches into contempt, and made modesty and simplicity to be honoured and esteemed. It is vain to pretend to reason about the rationality of these establishments of Lycurgus, since it is certain, that while Sparta retained her contempt for riches, she continued powerful and glorious.

Still farther to prevent the desire of riches, and all incitements to luxury, Lycurgus prohibited the practice of all superfluous and unnecessary arts at Sparta, and all public shows, that his citizens might not be accustomed to sights condemned by the laws, nor listen even to an indirect justification of crimes and irregular passions. In place of such occupations and amusements, hunting and bodily exercises were encouraged, and constituted the ordinary diversion of the Spartans.

To complete this system of equality that Lycurgus desired to establish among his countrymen, his last and most effectual institution was that of the public tables, at which all the citizens, rich and poor promiscuously, were obliged to eat of the same diet. Every table contained fifteen persons, each of whom furnished a certain quantity of the requisite provisions. A bushel of flour, eight gallons of wine, five pounds of cheese, two pounds and a half of figs, together with a small sum of money to purchase a little flesh and fish, and to cook the victuals, was the monthly contribution of every member. No new member could be admitted to any of those tables without the consent of the whole company. From their entertainments all delicate luxurious dishes were banished; their ordinary and most esteemed fare being a sort of black broth.*

* Dionysius, the tyrant of Syracuse, being informed of the extraordinary fondness of the Spartans for this black broth, is

This last regulation met with much opposition, and occasioned an insurrection, in which Lycurgus had one of his eyes knocked out. But the gentleness with which he treated the author of that misfortune, very much increased the public esteem for him, and the regulation at last took place. The public tables soon became so many schools of temperance and instruction to the youth.

But of all the institutions of Lycurgus, the most extraordinary, perhaps, and the most wise, were those that regulated the education of the children, which he justly regarded as the ground-work and basis of his whole system of government. His care in that respect may be said to have preceded not only the birth, but even the conception of the children, by the strict attention he bestowed on procuring them healthy and vigorous mothers. For this purpose, the Spartan young women were from their earliest years accustomed to a course of hardy and laborious exercises, proper for invigorating the body, such as wrestling, running, and throwing the javelin. These exercises, too, inspired them with a spirit of emulation and heroism, and improved their minds no less than their bodies. Hence the softer sex, which, in the modern nations inhabiting our hemisphere, seems to be naturally actuated with a desire of outward ornament and dress, to attract the admiration of the other sex, at Sparta aspired to the most manly accomplishments. Their education there rendered them susceptible of the most heroic virtues, and that to such a degree, that the love of their country often extinguished the powerful ties of

said to have procured a Spartan cook for the single purpose of preparing it for him. But the tyrant, on tasting it, having shown great dislike to it, the cook, with the strong sense of his native laconicism, told Dionysius, that one must bathe in the Eurotas before he could acquire the proper taste for this broth. Insinuating, by his observation, that one must fare as abstemiously, and use as violent exercise, as a Spartan did, before he could relish their favourite broth.

natural affection. The mother, who heard that her son had fallen in the service of his country, anxiously examined the body, to see whether he had received his wounds before or behind : in the former case she rejoiced, in the latter she wept.

Nor were the Spartan maidens permitted to receive husbands till they arrived at the flower of their age ; an instance of singular wisdom in their excellent lawgiver. His sagacity was no less conspicuous in contriving things so, that their marriages were all clandestine, and rather a rape than a formal conjunction. By these means the interviews between the new married couple, were few, difficult, and short. Hence temperance in their pleasures.

Every child, when born, was examined by the oldest men of its tribe, who, if they thought it too delicate and weak, condemned it to die. It is observable, that the Spartan children, though never wrapped in swaddling clothes, were all remarkably straight, well proportioned, and beautiful. Their nurses were reckoned very careful and skilful ; and, on that account, were eagerly sought after by the principal people in the other states of Greece. It is reported, that Alcibiades was suckled by a Spartan.

As the education of the children was accounted too important a concern to be entrusted to the parents, who, by an absurd and ill-judged fondness, often ruin them, the state took that matter entirely into its own hands. A citizen of distinguished integrity and ability was appointed principal superintendant of the education of the youth. At the age of seven years, the children were taken from their parents, and distributed into different classes, where they were inured to a hardy life, exposed to the extremities of cold and heat, obliged to walk barefoot, with their heads shaved and uncovered, and accustomed to the greatest simplicity and temperance in their diet.

At the age of twelve they were removed into another class, where they underwent a more severe

discipline still. There they learned obedience to the laws and magistrates, and reverence for the old men. To inspire them with bravery, and to render them expert at the exercises of war, they were obliged to fight with one another. In these contests they used to contend with such fury and obstinacy, as often to have some of their members disabled, and sometimes even to be killed. To make them adventurous and cunning, they were allowed to steal whatever they pleased, either from the gardens or public halls of entertainment, provided they accomplished the theft without being detected; but when caught in the fact, they were punished. It was likewise accounted a worthy accomplishment in the Spartan children to be able to bear, without complaining, at a certain feast in honour of Diana, the most severe whipping, even till the blood followed the stroke. Their understandings were cultivated more by the conversation of the wisest citizens, than by study and reading. They were particularly taught to give their answers in the fewest words possible. Hence conciseness, either in style or conversation, has obtained the name of laconicism. By these means a single syllable sometimes served among the Lacedemonians for an answer.

The love of their country was the chief sentiment with which the Spartans laboured to inspire their youth; and the science of war was almost their only study. For it appears to have been the intention of Lycurgus to form a nation of soldiers; not indeed that they might indulge themselves in a spirit of conquest, and by that means give way to ambition and injustice, which he evidently meant to prevent, by prohibiting their making use of any naval force; but that they might be able to maintain the peace and liberties of their native country against turbulent and ambitious neighbours. Their first and principal lesson in the art of war was, Never to fly, let the enemy outnumber them ever so much, but either to die or to conquer. Those

who fled in any engagement were rendered infamous for ever, and might be insulted by any person with impunity. Another singular, but very political maxim observed by the Spartans in war was, Never to pursue a vanquished enemy beyond the field of battle. For this reason their adversaries, being sure of finding safety in flight, were induced to fight with less obstinacy. War, instead of a hardship, was by the Spartans considered as a recreation; for then, and at no other time, the extreme rigour and severity of their usual course of life was in a good measure relaxed.

We cannot conclude this article without observing, that to several eminent writers some of the Spartan customs and institutions have appeared reprehensible. Certain public exhibitions of their young women are censured as indelicate. And an article of freedom in an essential point allowed to their married women is condemned as immoral, and as being subversive of one of the most powerful bonds of paternal and of filial affection.

We know, that to the first it may be answered by a certain class of philosophers, that this apparent indelicacy is only a consequence of the corruption of the manners of those who account it such; while, on the other side, it is a proof of the innocence and simplicity of the Spartan manners. To the second the answer is more obvious, and perhaps more solid, that at Sparta filial affection was intentionally diverted from the private father, and directed by the whole system of their education to the state, as the common father of all its members; a circumstance which distinguishes Spartan polity from that of every other nation, so far as we know, which ever appeared on earth.

Their cruelty, both as individuals and as a community, is made another subject of reproach against the ancient Spartans: and indeed it seems to be altogether without excuse. To destroy such of their children as the inspectors judged to be too puny and

weak, was both cruel, and, we will venture to add, absurd. Daily experience might have convinced them, that an enfeebled appearance in the first days of life is far from being an unequivocal sign even of bodily strength. Innumerable instances to the contrary occur daily in all countries. But even in a nation of Spartan warriors, an athletic make could hardly be put in competition with bravery, which depends more on the mind than on the body, and, like understanding, fancy, memory, and other mental endowments, is most rarely communicated to an Herculean frame. Of this the illustrious Spartan Agesilaus furnishes a convincing proof.

But their more than savage barbarity to the Helots, who tilled their fields, and on whom of course they depended for the means of life, shocks humanity, and almost exceeds belief. They not only obliged them to wear, on all occasions, both in their dress and deportment, the most disgraceful marks of abject servility, but daily insulted, struck, and maimed them, without a shadow of provocation; and, often in pure wantonness, stabbed them to death.

The horrid amusement of the *criptia* or ambuscade, not only permitted, but even authoritatively imposed on the youth, is an instance of unprecedented, of inconceivable, barbarity. Parties of the hardest young Spartans, armed with daggers concealed under their clothes, were dispatched to traverse the fields, evidently with a view to mark out such of the Helots as appeared to possess most strength and courage, and the most manly appearance in face and gesture. Having made their observations, they concealed themselves in the most unfrequented places, till night gave them an opportunity to perpetrate the meditated massacre. Then sallying forth from their lurking places, they stabbed with their daggers the devoted unsuspecting wretches.

On the whole, the Spartan constitution seems to have been devised to render them a nation of hardy,

unfeeling warriors. Every circumstance deemed conducive to this end, was studied and practised, though frequently repugnant to the softer and more amiable feelings of the human mind. But what cannot habit effect among mankind? The manners not only of distant nations, but even of the same nations in different ages, differ as much as the motions of a tumbler differ from those of a laborious peasant.

So extraordinary a people soon attracted the admiration of their neighbours, as well as of strangers; and Sparta acquired a pre-eminence over all Greece. The other states, when at war, reckoned it a singular advantage to obtain a Spartan for their general, and paid him the most perfect obedience.

Most of the ancient philosophers were of opinion, that the government of Sparta approached the nearest of any to perfection, as comprehending all the advantages, and excluding all the disadvantages, of the other forms of government. It is indeed certain, that while the institutions of Lycurgus were maintained in their full vigour in Sparta, no sedition ever broke out there; no private man possessed himself by violence of the supreme power; and no king assumed more authority than the laws permitted.

SECT. II.

To form an accurate notion of the form of government in the Athenian republic, it is necessary to know distinctly the different members whereof it was composed.

The inhabitants of Athens were distinguished into three different ranks, the citizens, the strangers, the slaves.

Those only were naturally citizens who were born of Athenian parents, both free. Foreigners indeed might become citizens by the indulgence of the people, who had the power of conferring that honour on such as had rendered signal service to

the state. All the citizens were by Cecrops distinguished into four tribes ; each of those tribes consisted of three divisions ; and each division was subdivided into thirty families. About 100 years after Solon, this distribution of the citizens was altered by Clisthenes, who increased the number of tribes to ten ; in which situation they continued till the time of Demetrius Poliorcetes, when they were further increased to twelve. The young men were not admitted to the rank, nor entitled to any of the privileges, of citizens, till the age of twenty years. Then, after swearing in the most solemn manner never to fly from battle, to defend their country to their last breath, and to advance its honour and glory with all their might, they were inscribed in the list of citizens. The whole power of government was exclusively confined to the citizens alone.

Such strangers as settled at Athens, either for the sake of commerce, or from any other motive, always put themselves under the protection of some citizens. They were obliged to pay a tax to the state, and were subject to its laws, but had no share in the government.

The third class consisted of two divisions : *1st*, The servants, who, though free by birth, were constrained through poverty to gain a livelihood by serving the other citizens. And, *2dly*, The slaves, properly so called, who were either prisoners taken in war, or were purchased with money. The last lived in a state of absolute dependence on their masters, and were accounted part of their property. When treated with cruelty, they had a right to complain to the proper magistrate ; and on proving what they alleged, their masters were obliged to dispose of them. A certain proportion of their gains was appropriated to their own use. They might purchase their liberty, though contrary to the pleasure of their masters, and their masters might voluntarily set them at liberty whenever they thought proper.

We have seen in the preceding part of this history, that the Athenians were at first ruled by kings. We have seen them, upon the death of Codrus, asserting their liberty, taking the whole power of government into their own hands, and setting up principal magistrates of their own creation, called archons. We have seen them limiting still more and more the power of those archons; first reducing the duration of their office to ten years, instead of conferring it for life, as at first; and afterwards confining it to the space of one year.

Sensible at last of the numberless inconveniences attending this unsettled state of government, they unanimously empowered Solon to make such alterations in it as he should judge proper, and to bring the manner of proceeding in their public deliberations to a regular and permanent form.

Aware of the turbulent and licentious disposition of the people with whom he had to deal, Solon accepted of the office with reluctance. Naturally averse himself to despotic sway, and inclined to the free and equal rule of a well regulated democracy, knowing perfectly at the same time the impossibility of reconciling the Athenians to any other mode of subjection, he devised for them a form of government purely popular. But as he was well acquainted with the many dangers and imperfections incident to that system, he endeavoured, by every possible precaution, to obviate them as far as he could.

Solon would willingly have begun his administration, by establishing at Athens the same equality in point of fortune that prevailed at Sparta. But foreseeing the danger of such an attempt in his circumstances, he resolved to take a middle course, and to procure an acquittal of all debts then subsisting among the citizens. By that means he delivered from slavery a great number of citizens, whose excessive debts had obliged them to part with their freedom; and, at the same time, he struck at the root of most of the commotions that had of late dis-

turbed the state, which were produced by the rigour of the richer citizens in exacting their debts, and by the refractory disposition and the inability of the poorer sort to pay them.

Solon next proceeded to rank all the citizens into four classes, in proportion to the wealth of each. The first three classes comprehended the richer citizens, who alone were to be promoted to all the offices of trust or dignity in the state. The fourth class contained the poorer citizens, who, though excluded on account of their poverty from posts and employments, had nevertheless the privilege of voting in the public assemblies : which, as we shall by and by see, eventually threw into their hands the whole power of the state ; for as this class comprehended a greater number of persons than the other three together, they possessed a preponderancy of voices on all occasions. Afterwards, too, this exclusion of the poorer sort from public offices was abolished by the interposition of Aristides, and full liberty was granted to the meanest citizen, of arriving at any office whatever.

Solon next laid down rules about the form of proceeding in the public assemblies. These assemblies were composed, as we have already observed, of the whole collective body of the citizens ; each of whom not only might, but was obliged to assist at them. Their meetings were of two kinds, ordinary and extraordinary. The ordinary meetings were appointed to be holden on certain fixed days ; and the particular business that was to come under the consideration of each meeting was properly known and ascertained. The extraordinary meetings were called by public proclamation, when any matters occurred whose nature or importance required more solemn consideration or quicker dispatch. Every meeting was opened with sacrifices and prayer ; after which the president explained the matter about which they were to deliberate. If the question had been previously agitated in the senate, in the

manner that we shall afterwards describe, the opinion there given was read, and the people were asked, whether they thought proper to confirm it? If they demurred, those who chose to deliver their sentiments about the affair were desired to ascend the tribunal. The oldest members generally spoke first. When the pleadings were concluded, the people gave judgment by holding up their hands, in sign of approbation of the opinion or proposal laid before them. But if a majority gave not this sign, the proposal was rejected. After the pleasure of the assembly was thus known, their sentence was reduced into writing, was then read over to them, and was confirmed a second time.

The whole power of the commonwealth, both legislative and judicative, was vested in these popular assemblies. For not only were all matters of public concern, such as the enacting and abrogating of laws, religious affairs, the creation of magistrates, and inquiries into their administration, peace, war, treaties, and the rewards of signal services done to the state, discussed in them; but every question of private right might be tried before them, by appeals from all the judicatories in the republic.

As some sort of restraint, or rather as a directory to the popular assemblies, Solon instituted the senate, which he formed of 100 men chosen out of each tribe; and the tribes in his time being four, the whole members of the senate amounted, by consequence, to 400. Their number, however, was afterwards increased to 500 upon the increase of the number of tribes to ten, about 100 years after Solon, when each tribe was allowed to furnish fifty members to the senate. They were all chosen by lot. But no man could become a senator before the age of thirty, nor till strict inquiry was made into his private character; and, before his admission, he bound himself by oath to give judgment in every question according to law, and to deliver at all times to the people of Athens the best counsel that oc-

curred to him. Every member of the senate received a salary out of the public treasury. The president was elected out of each tribe in rotation.

The senators, before assembling, sacrificed to Jupiter and Mercury. It was the president's business to lay before the senate the questions on which they were to deliberate. Each judge stood up in his turn, and delivered his opinion. The manner of stating the question being agreed on, it was written out and read aloud. The judges proceeded to give their votes by throwing either a black or a white bean into an urn. If the number of white beans exceeded that of the black, the sentence passed in the affirmative; if the number of black beans was greatest, it was rejected. But before the decree of the senate could have the force of law, it required the approbation of the assembly of the people, before whom therefore it next came. If affirmed by them, it passed into a law; if not, it was only good for a year. This council was, as already mentioned, intended by Solon as a check upon the assembly of the people; which being for the greater part composed of a confused multitude, without education, capacity, or much zeal for the public good, stood in need of such an institution to inform and direct them, to fix their inconstancy, to prevent their temerity, and to bestow on their deliberations a prudence and maturity to which the multitude necessarily were strangers. For this reason the most important matters of the state, such as those relating to peace, war, the army, the navy, and the public funds, were first agitated in the senate, and brought before the popular assemblies only in the second instance.

The next considerable act of Solon's administration was the institution, or rather perhaps the reformation, of the court of areopagus. The power of this court was properly speaking, purely judicative. It was composed of the archons who had served the stated time in that capacity, and had discharged

the duty of their office with distinguished integrity and reputation. The number of the judges in this court was not fixed. Sometimes they amounted to two or three hundred. The court of areopagus never met but at night, and in an open place; and those who pled before them were not permitted to indulge themselves in declamation, but were strictly confined to the merits of their cause.

This court was always most highly respected, on account of the singular justice and integrity of the judges, who were intrusted with the education of the youth, with the care of the public money, and with power to punish those who lived in idleness. They had likewise jurisdiction in matters of religion, and deliberated about the introduction of new divinities, and the building of temples and altars. Besides the matters here enumerated, they meddled with no other, unless upon particular application of the state, which sometimes had recourse to the wisdom of their deliberation on any dangerous emergency.

It were equally tedious and unnecessary to enter into a particular detail of the various subordinate institutions of Solon. We hope that what has been said may give the reader a distinct notion of the public government of this famous republic, and that is all we proposed.* We shall therefore conclude

* We shall, however, by way of note, mention very briefly some of the most remarkable of Solon's laws.—He who in public commotions remained neuter, was declared infamous. A rich heiress, who in marriage found her wishes disappointed, from some natural defect about her husband, of which he must have been sensible before marriage, might associate with her husband's nearest male relations: no portions were allowed to be given with any wives, except those who were heiresses. All injurious reflections against the dead were forbidden; so were public revilings against the living. Those who had no children were authorised to bequeath their effects by will, from which, before Solon's time, they were restrained. From a desire to promote industry and manufactures, which the barrenness of the territories of Attica rendered more particularly necessary, he ordained that the son, who by his father had not been educated in some busi-

with a few words on the article of the public revenues of Athens.

These arose, *1st*, From the produce of the territory of the republic, the sale of its woods, and the great sums drawn from its silver mines. *2dly*, From the contributions of the allies to support the expences of war. In the time of Aristides, the produce of this fund amounted to no more than 460 talents; Pericles augmented it about a third; and some time after, it was more than doubled, and rose to 1300 talents. *3dly*, From the fines and confiscations imposed by the courts of law. And, *lastly*, From extraordinary taxes levied in case of urgent necessity upon all the inhabitants of Attica.

PART II

Of the education of the youth, the games and shows, matters of war and religion among the Greeks.

OF all the branches of Grecian polity, that which regarded the education of their youth was the most

ness, should not be obliged to support that father when in want: and he who was thrice convicted of idleness became infamous. To discourage profligacy, and to promote marriage, illegitimate children were not obliged to relieve their parents when reduced to poverty, while lawful children were, with the exception just mentioned, compelled, under the penalty of infamy, to maintain their indigent parents. An adulterer caught in the fact might instantly be put to death with impunity; and the adulteress was prohibited from adorning her person, and from assisting at public sacrifices. The exportation of any of the fruits of the ground, except oil, was prohibited under severe penalties. No stranger could be naturalised into the Athenian republic, unless he had been previously exiled to perpetuity from his native country, or had settled with his whole family at Athens to prosecute some manufacture. The guardian was not permitted to live in the same house with the mother of his ward. The custody of the minor's person was not intrusted to his presumptive heir. An archon who appeared drunk, suffered death. He who dissipated his fortune was declared infamous. He who refused to be a soldier, or betrayed cowardice in battle, was not allowed to appear in the forum, or in the places of public worship. The husband who continued to cohabit with his wife, after discovering that she dishonoured his bed, became infamous.

admirable. To the wisdom of those ancients in this respect, may be chiefly attributed the vast superiority in point of character and ability of the individuals among them over those of modern times. To treat this subject with the accuracy its importance requires, would be a work equally laborious and useful. But as it is incompatible with our present design to enter into a minute investigation of this matter, we shall content ourselves with giving a general view of it in as few words as possible.

Among the Greeks, the education of the youth was a branch of government; and for that purpose public exercises were appointed, both for forming the body and for improving the mind.

Their bodily exercises were principally calculated to inure them to the fatigues of war. Proper schools were set apart for the performance of those exercises, and skilful masters were appointed by the public to oversee them. There the youth practised wrestling, riding, the use of arms, and military evolutions. Hunting too, which is an image of war, was in great repute, and very highly encouraged by the ancients. In the course of that diversion, the youth were accustomed to support the most violent fatigue, cold, heat, and all the other varieties of the weather; hunger, thirst, and hard journeys. For this reason Xenophon, one of the finest writers that Greece produced, who, with the science of a philosopher, united the skill of an excellent commander, a thorough knowledge of the world, and the politeness of a gentleman, thought it worth his while to compose a treatise on the art of hunting; and in his beautiful philosophical romance, the *Cyropedeia*, he takes frequent occasion to launch into the praises of it, and to show, in the person of his hero, to what useful purposes it contributes.

Dancing, too, was reckoned an essential part in the education of the ancient Greeks. Its principal aim with them was to bestow on the body an unconstrained and easy motion, and a graceful air.

To excel in it, therefore, was accounted an accomplishment worthy the gravest and greatest characters. Hence even Epaminondas, one of the most perfect characters that Greece ever produced, was praised for dancing gracefully, and for playing skillfully on the flute.

Music, which holds a middle rank between the exercises of the body and the qualifications of the mind, was likewise carefully cultivated by the Greeks, and considered as a necessary and polite accomplishment. The ancients indeed ascribed to this art the most wonderful effects, believing it capable to soothe the passions, to soften the manners, and even to humanise barbarous and savage dispositions. On this account Socrates himself was not ashamed, when pretty far advanced in years, to learn to play upon musical instruments : and Themistocles, otherwise so well accomplished, was thought deficient in merit, because he could not touch the lyre. Even Plato, the gravest philosopher of antiquity, deemed these two arts of dancing and music so important, that in his books of laws, he takes much pains to prescribe proper rules with regard to them. But the taste of the Greeks in these two articles, was at length corrupted and depraved by the extreme licentiousness of their theatres, where both music and dancing were by the comedians applied to the purpose of exciting the loosest and most shameful passions.

Greece was the nursery and the residence of every branch of polite learning, of arts, and of sciences. Every study that depends on the powers of imagination, or the faculties of the understanding, was there carried to the summit of perfection. Hence their youth applied, with the utmost assiduity, to the study of mathematics, philosophy, poetry, and eloquence, and were early instructed by the best masters in the principles of their native language, of which the various beauties were carefully pointed out to them. By these means the Athenians in

particular imbibed that exquisite taste for the refinements of language, which has been the wonder of succeeding ages.

But the acquisition they valued the most, and which was the object of their warmest ambition, was eloquence. This, indeed, in popular governments like theirs, was of all qualifications the most useful, being the path that conducted to the highest offices of the state, and raised those who excelled in it to the most distinguished rank among their fellow-citizens.

Before the time of Socrates, the sciences were chiefly taught by masters called sophists, a vain presumptuous set of men, who were eternally disputing and boasting of their knowledge. The excellent philosopher just mentioned, took great pains to detect their ignorance, and to expose them to ridicule. This provoked them against him; and we shall by and by see, that he owed his destruction in a great measure to the resentment of those sophists.

The games and combats, so much in use among the Greeks, were principally encouraged on account of their being so admirably calculated for rendering the bodies of the youth robust and vigorous, and for enabling them to support the fatigues of war; and likewise on account of their forming a part of their religious worship. Of these exercises the famous heroes of antiquity, such as Hercules, Theseus, Castor, and Pollux, were the original inventors; and the greatest poets aspired at glory by celebrating the praises of those who conquered and excelled in them. In process of time, public instructors in those exercises arose, who formed a separate profession by themselves, and often made an ostentatious display of their skill, by contending with one another in public.

Of these games there were four principal and more solemn exhibitions, namely the Olympic, the Pythian, the Nemean, and the Isthmic.

The Olympic games were the most famous of all.

Their first institutor is unknown, though Pelops is with a great deal of probability generally considered as such. No particular time was at first set apart for their celebration. But, about the year before Christ 784, Iphitus, king of Elis, fixed it to every fourth year. These games were consecrated to Jupiter; and were performed in the neighbourhood of Olympia, a city in the district of Pisa. An olympiad was a period of four years, being the space of time that intervened between one celebration and another. Ancient authors reckon their chronology altogether by olympiads, beginning at the olympiad which happened in the year before Christ 776.

These more solemn games were no doubt at first established by the Greeks, as well with a view to draw together the leading men in the different states of Greece, that they might have an opportunity of deliberating on matters of general concern, as to inspire the youth with a love of glory. The Greeks exerted their utmost efforts to support the magnificence of these games, which were regularly celebrated while that people maintained their liberty. The vast concourse of spectators that constantly flocked thither, inspired the combatants with the highest spirit of emulation; and to come off victorious was esteemed the greatest glory. According to Horace, victory there raised the conquerors to the rank of gods. The year was distinguished by the name of the conqueror in the chariot races, accounted the most honourable of all, and his praises were sung by the most famous poets. The prize was a crown of laurel.

Running was considered as the principal exercise at the Olympic games; which therefore always opened with the foot races. The course was called the stadium, from the measure of that name, containing about 600 feet, which was originally the whole space set apart for the performance of all the exercises. But, in process of time, not only the particular spot within which the disputants con-

tended, but likewise that occupied by the spectators, was called by that appellation, though perhaps exceeding the extent of several stadia. In the middle of the stadium were displayed the different prizes destined for the victors. At one extremity of the lists was placed the barrier or starting place, formed by a cord extended; without which were ranged the runners, and also the chariots. The drawing of this cord was the signal for starting. At the other extremity of the lists was placed the goal for those who ran.

The runners were drawn up in a straight line, and the moment the signal was given, they hurried towards the goal with wonderful rapidity. In the shortest race, he who arrived first at the goal was declared the victor: But there was a longer race; in which, after reaching the goal, they returned to the barrier. Besides these, there were others of greater extent still; and, in the longest of all, the disputants were obliged to double the goal no fewer than twelve times.

Horse-races, though holden in a considerable degree of estimation, were not so common: And, indeed, in those ancient times, when the use of stirrups was unknown, it must have required very great dexterity to contend in them.

The chariot-races were the most famous of all; not only because ancient princes and heroes generally fought from chariots; but likewise because those who contended for the prize in that exercise, at the Olympic games, were persons of the noblest birth, or distinguished by the greatness of their exploits. Two kings of Syracuse, Gelo and Hiero, and Philip of Macedon, accounted their having obtained the palm of victory in this dispute among their highest honours. These chariots were drawn by two or four horses yoked a-breast. Hence the words *bigae* (a two-horse carriage,) and *quadrigae* (a four-horse carriage.) All the chariots set off together from the starting-place, called *carceres*, the

instant the signal was given. The station of each was settled by lot; for some stations were much more advantageous than others; those, for example, that were ranged on the left, were nearer the goal, around which they were obliged to turn, than those ranged on the right, which had a larger circuit to perform; but the stations occupied by each before starting, were necessarily altered in the course of the race; for the fleetest horses, and most skilful charioteers, would certainly take possession of the most convenient stations. Of all the Athenians, Alcibiades was the most ambitious to distinguish himself in these games. For that purpose he kept a great number of horses; and once sent no fewer than seven chariots to contend for the prize. On the day that he won the three first prizes, he gave a grand entertainment to all the spectators, who must have formed a vast multitude. These victories of Alcibiades were immortalised by a famous ode composed by the celebrated Euripides.

It was not necessary for the disputant in the chariot-races to conduct his chariot in person. It was sufficient if he were present; or even if he sent thither his horses. Thus Philip was at Potidea, when he received the news of his victory in the chariot races at the Olympic games. It may be observed too, that even women were permitted to contend for the prize in that dispute. We learn from history, that Cynisca, the sister of Agesilaus king of Sparta, was the first woman who set the example; and that she gained the victory in the race of the chariots drawn by four horses.

The victor, after being adorned with a crown of olive, received a palm into his hand, and was conducted through the stadium by a herald, who proclaimed him victor by the sound of a trumpet. This was accompanied by loud shouts from the spectators. On returning to his native city, he made his entry through a breach in the wall, thrown down for that special purpose, mounted on

a chariot drawn by four horses, all his fellow-citizens going out to meet him. Victory in the chariot races was, as already observed, esteemed the most honourable of all; and historians distinguished each olympiad by the name of him who had won the first prize in that dispute.

The combats of the *athletæ*, or the gymnastic exercises, formed the remaining part of the entertainment at the Olympic games. The *athletæ* prepared themselves for this public exhibition of their strength and dexterity by a regular education; and none but free Greeks, of irreproachable moral characters, were admitted into their number. They were obliged, previously to their appearing at the public games, to spend ten months in the *gymnasia*; where, under the direction of proper masters appointed for the purpose, they observed the most rigid temperance, to harden their bodies, and to adapt them to the requisite exercises. Before engaging, the *athletæ* had their bodies carefully rubbed and anointed, that their limbs and joints might thereby be rendered more strong and pliable: and they fought quite naked, to give less hold to their adversaries.

Those who presided at these games were called *agnothetæ*.

The various exercises in which the *athletæ* contended, were wrestling, boxing, the *pancratium*, throwing the discus, and jumping.

Wrestling is an exercise every where so well known, that it were superfluous to spend many words in giving a description of it. Each contending party practised his utmost strength, agility, and address, to throw down his adversary. But if he who was thrown down carried his opponent along with him, the dispute was not at an end, for they still continued struggling; and he who got uppermost at last, and obliged the other to demand quarter, was declared conqueror. Milon of Crotona, and Polydamas, were the most renowned wrestlers of all antiquity.

Boxing is an exercise pretty generally known likewise. In this exercise the combatants fought with their fists, which were armed with cestuses, a sort of gauntlet or glove, composed of leather straps lined with plates of iron, to render the blows more violent ; and to preserve their heads from contusions, they wore a sort of large cap. Sometimes, after contending a long while, they were so exhausted by sweat and fatigue, as to be obliged of concert to suspend the combat for a little time, that they might draw breath, and refresh themselves. In these engagements, they were sometimes frightfully disfigured, having all their body covered with miserable contusions, an eye knocked out, or their jaw bones broken ; and sometimes the combatants dropped down dead on the spot.

The pancratium required, as the word imports, the whole strength of the body. It was a combination both of wrestling and boxing ; for the combatants employed the struggling practised in the one, and the blows used in the other. They were at liberty even to kick with their feet, and to make use of their teeth and nails. Such combats justly appear to us barbarous and horrible, nearly as much so as those of the Roman gladiators ; and the spectators were certainly in a high degree devoid of humanity, when they took pleasure to see men endeavouring in this manner to disfigure, and even to murder one another.

The discus was an exercise in which the disputants exerted all their strength in throwing a piece of stone or lead, of a round form, and generally of such a weight, that it was with difficulty carried in both hands. This, like most of the other exercises, was calculated to strengthen the body, that it might bear the more easily the burdens necessary to be carried in war. Their posture, when they threw the smaller discus, was thus : they advanced one leg to a convenient distance before the other, bended their body, and holding the discus poised on one

arm, leaned their whole weight on the foremost leg, then, after two or three motions in the manner they were to throw, in order properly to balance their whole body, they discharged the discus. He who threw it farthest won the prize. But besides this, they had several other methods of throwing the discus, generally making use of both arms at the same time.

Jumping and throwing the javelin were two exercises, in which the disputants endeavoured to jump and to throw the javelin the farthest they possibly could; and he was victor who threw it the farthest of all.

Besides the exercises above described, it was usual at the Olympic games, for the poets, and finest geniuses of the times, to contribute still further to the public entertainment, by reciting before that vast assembly some of their best compositions. There Herodotus publicly read his history; which was so highly relished and applauded, that each of the nine books whereof it consisted, was honoured with the name of one of the nine muses. In like manner Lysias, the famous Athenian orator, recited an oration, wherein he congratulated with the Greeks on their having humbled the power of Dionysius the tyrant. Several other orators likewise went thither to read some favourite discourse.

The victors in those games had right of precedence at all the public shows. Besides this general indulgence, they were particularly honoured at Sparta, by the privilege of being maintained at the public charge, and of fighting nearest to the person of the king. The praises of the victors were commonly the subject of the odes composed by the poets of those days. Pindar and Simonides made this the theme of all their works of that kind.

The Pythian games were celebrated at Delphos every fourth year, in honour of Apollo; and particularly in memory of his victory over the serpent Python. The victor in them was crowned with laurel.

The Nemæan games were celebrated every second year at Nemæa, a city of the Peloponnesus, in honour of Hercules, who had destroyed the lion that infested the forest of Nemæa. The victor in them was crowned with parsley.

The Isthmian games were celebrated every fourth year in the isthmus of Corinth, in honour of Neptune. They were instituted by Theseus. The victor in them was crowned with pine leaves.

It is to be remarked, that during the celebration of all these games, a general suspension of arms took place through Greece, if at the time war happened to prevail between any of the states.

One of the most famous combatants in the gymnastic exercises, of which we have been just speaking, was Milo the Crotonian, so called from his being a native of the city of Crotona. He is renowned in history for his prodigious strength, and his great courage. When but a very young man, he was six times victor at the Olympic games. The instances mentioned by historians of his vast strength, and no less surprising stomach, appear almost incredible. He is said to have carried on his shoulders, the whole length of a stadium, an ox four years old, to have killed it with a single blow of his fist, and to have eaten the whole carcase in one day. His strength, however, proved at last his destruction, for, having attempted to open entirely the body of an oak tree, which he found a little open already, the wood closed upon his hands, and, being unable to disengage himself, he was devoured by the wild beasts.

The Athenians were passionately fond of theatrical representations. Among them judges were appointed to examine each piece before it came to be publicly acted : and the representations were conducted with the highest magnificence.

Tragedy was not only invented, but carried to the highest pitch of perfection among the Greeks. Thespis may be said to have been the inventor of

it: Eschylus improved upon his plan; and Sophocles and Euripides completed the work.

Terror and pity constituted the soul of the ancient Greek tragedy; for that ingenious people, who in every art and science made nature their sole model, discovered that these two passions were the best adapted to affect the minds of the spectators. The principle upon which this is founded, may perhaps be this: that as we are sensible of the misfortunes with which human life is surrounded, we are the more disposed to be affected with the representation of those misfortunes, from a consciousness of being ourselves exposed to feel the sufferings by which we see others distressed. But to ascertain the principle appears unimportant. Terror and compassion were the only passions whereby those ancient poets studied to move their audience. They seem to have disdained to accomplish that end by exhibiting their heroes as the slaves of the softer passions, and unmanned by the effeminate care of love. They regarded weaknesses of that sort as a stain on their characters.

Comedy kept pace with her sister art at Athens, and arrived at perfection much about the same time. The Athenians took great delight in comic representations; being well pleased to see the blemishes in the characters of their superiors and contemporaries exposed and censured by the ingenious touches of pleasantry and wit. But we are justly surprised at the extreme licentiousness of the Athenian comic poets, for they not only made the most illustrious characters of their age the butt of their ridicule, but even meddled with the character of their gods. They likewise presumed to touch on state affairs; and introduced the faults of government as the subject of their mirth and pleasantry. This excessive licentiousness, was one of the consequences of the popular form of government.

Eupolis, Cratinus, and Aristophanes, were the most famous of the Greek comic poets; but of the

two first, none of the performances have come down to us, and only a few of those of the latter. In the time of Lysander and the thirty tyrants, the satirical liberty which had till then prevailed on the stage was greatly restrained. The poets, however, eluded the force of the injunction given them, not to mention any person by name, by drawing the character in so striking a manner, that the audience had no difficulty to find out the person aimed at. But at last, in the time of Alexander the Great, the poets were entirely prohibited from attacking any living character in their comedies, either directly or indirectly. They were obliged therefore to have recourse to fiction, and to devise adventures for their theatrical personages. Comedy then became a copy of the living manners of the age in general.

The theatre of the Greeks consisted of three principal divisions. The first, destined for the spectators, and denominated the theatre in a more strict and confined sense, was in the form of a semicircle, and disposed in the manner of an amphitheatre, containing three storeys of seats above one another, of which the highest reached to the top of the building. Each storey consisted of seven rows of seats, separated from one another by a landing place. The storeys of seats were divided from each other by three ranges of very large porticoes, which composed the body of the amphitheatre. Besides these, there were great square openings in proper places, called vomitoria, by which the people entered and retired; and stairs called *cunei*, because each of them formed a sort of corner conducting to the several storeys of seats.

The second division was called the scenes, and consisted of two parts. The first of these, called in a more limited sense the scenes, was of the form of a long square, and presented a large front, along which the statues and decorations were disposed. The other part of this division was a large space in front of the scenes, called by the Greeks *proscenium*;

but it might have been in a stricter sense denominated the stage, for it was there the actors performed the piece.

The third division, called the orchestra, was situated between the theatre and the scenes, and was set apart for the pantomimes, dancers, and musicians.

The whole edifice was open at top, and exposed to the weather, but was commonly covered with sails or large pieces of canvass, to preserve the spectators from the heat of the sun.

The passion of the Athenians for theatrical representations rose at last to a kind of phrenzy, and is accounted one of the principal causes of the corruption of their manners. It must be allowed, that Pericles, from a desire to conciliate the popular favour, was the first who laid the foundation of this corruption; for, by procuring a certain salary to each citizen every day that sacrifices were performed, or plays exhibited, he very naturally produced in the hearts of the Athenians a strong inclination for the theatre. Feasts and plays succeeded each other almost without intermission; and the people, as a consequence of their taste for shows and diversions, became idle and indolent.

The taste, however, was restrained within some sort of bounds till after the death of Epaminondas. The Athenians, finding themselves by that event, delivered from a man whose talents had raised the Thebans to such a situation as to be able to dispute with them the superiority in Greece; and who had, during his life, kept them as well as the other states in constant action; and having then no other enemy to give them disturbance, consumed in shows and feasts the whole public money destined for the maintenance of their fleet and army. What unaccountable delusion, to squander away in empty amusements such immense sums; and to prefer the love of pleasure to the safety of the state and integrity of manners! Their enemies, and particularly Philip king of Macedon, did not fail to avail them-

selves of this state of indolence and dissipation into which the Athenians had fallen.

The Greeks were from the earliest times distinguished by their martial character ; of which the Trojan war, where so many brave chiefs gained immortal fame, furnished the first public display. It is difficult to determine, whether this warlike temper was the cause or the effect of that strong spirit of liberty with which we have seen them so universally actuated. But these two passions are certainly nearly allied, and must have greatly cherished and heightened one another. This martial disposition, too, must have been highly promoted by the peculiar situation of the country, divided, as it was, into a number of small states, each governed by its own laws, and influenced by its peculiar character and interests. Accordingly, we see, that ambition and jealousy occasioned continual subjects of dispute among those different states, and kept them almost constantly at war with one another. Sparta and Athens were unquestionably the chief of all the Grecian states, and rendered themselves no less famous by their rivalry and their perpetual struggles for superiority, than by the singularity and difference of their genius and manners.

From what has been already said in the former part of this appendix, the cause of this pre-eminence of Sparta and Athens over their neighbours is sufficiently apparent. The whole aim of the Spartan legislator appears to have been to render his countrymen a nation of soldiers. Every circumstance of their education was admirably calculated for that purpose. To go barefoot, to lie hard, to eat little, to suffer every extremity of the weather, to bear fatigue, and even wounds, to exercise themselves continually at wrestling, running, hunting, all contributed to that end. Their remarkable respect for their magistrates and elders, and their perfect submission to the laws, prepared them admirably for

every branch of military discipline. At Sparta too the mothers wept only for such of their children as fled, not for those that fell. All means, in a word, were practised to make the Spartans invincible in battle.

The Athenians, though not educated in so hardy a manner, were nevertheless animated with an equal spirit of valour. The ancient glory of their nation, which had always distinguished itself by its warlike actions, was a powerful incentive to bravery. A generous emulation not to yield in point of merit to their rivals the Spartans, likewise served greatly to promote the martial temper natural to the Athenians. But, above all, the rewards and honours bestowed on those who had behaved with remarkable courage in battle; the monuments erected to the memory of such as had fallen in the service of their country; and the excellent funeral orations publicly pronounced on the most solemn occasions, to render their names immortal, contributed wonderfully to keep alive the flame of valour, and to inspire them with extraordinary bravery. This end was likewise greatly advanced by the attention shown by the republic to such of their citizens as had suffered in war. For not only those who were maimed, but the children and parents of those who were killed in battle, were taken under the immediate protection of the commonwealth, and educated and maintained at the public expence.

By these means Sparta and Athens enjoyed an undisputable superiority, in point of valour and military discipline, over all the other states. Thebes alone, by an extraordinary exertion of bravery, attempted to share in their glory. But her power, as we shall see in the sequel, was of very short continuance.

The armies both of the Lacedemonians and Athenians consisted of four classes: citizens, allies, mercenaries, and slaves. At Athens, in the time of Demetrius Phalerius, were reckoned about 20,000 citizens, 10,000 strangers, and 40,000 slaves.

All the Athenians, at the age of twenty years, were inrolled, and engaged by oath to serve the republic, which they were obliged to do till they were sixty years old. Citizens alone were admitted on that footing. Each of the tribes whereof the state was composed, furnished a certain number of soldiers, according as the public exigencies required, either for the sea or land service; for in process of time the naval power of Athens became very considerable, insomuch that, at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, we shall see them maintaining a fleet of no fewer than 300 galleys.

At Sparta, in the time of Demaratus, were computed to be 8000 Spartans. These were the flower of the nation, every individual of that number possessing the qualifications of a general; and they were all inhabitants of Sparta; for those who went by the name of Lacedemonians lived in the country. Their allies formed the most numerous part of their troops. The mercenaries were maintained by the state; and every Spartan was attended by four or five Helots.

The age of those who bore arms among the Lacedemonians, was from thirty to sixty years; those of a less or more advanced age were charged with the defence of the city. They never put arms into the hands of their slaves, except in cases of great necessity. Their proper national forces altogether amounted only to about 10,000 men; for Sparta was not so populous by a great deal as Athens.

The infantry of the Greeks, in general, consisted of two great divisions: 1st, The heavy-armed soldiers, each of whom carried a large shield, a lance, a javelin, and a sword. 2dly, The light-armed soldiers, who bore only bows and slings, and in the beginning of the battle were commonly posted in the front of the army. The armies were divided into different squadrons or regiments, commonly consisting, as at the battle of Mantinea, of between 500 and 600 men; these again were subdivided, like

our modern regiments, into four companies of 128 men each ; and these companies were further subdivided into four parties, which we may call platoons, consisting of thirty-two men each, and which admitted of four men a-breast and eight deep, or eight a-breast and four deep.

The Lacedemonians had but few cavalry ; and the Athenians still fewer, their territory being inadequate to the support of any considerable number of horse.

The Athenians were much superior to the Lacedemonians in naval power. Their fleets consisted of two sorts of ships : 1st, Their ships of war, called by them *long ships*, which were rowed ; 2dly, Their transports, which carried the provisions and baggage, and were managed with sails. Of their ships of war some had but one bench of oars, without any deck ; some had two, some three, some four, and some five benches of oars. Hence they were denominated *biremes*, *triemes*, &c. according to their number of benches. The triemes were most in use. The most common opinion is, that the different benches of oars were disposed above one another obliquely, like the steps of a stair, and not parallel to each other, along the whole length of the vessel. The beak or rostrum of the vessel was on a level with the water, immediately under the prow, and was a long piece of wood, having a sharp point covered with iron, with which they sometimes pierced and sunk their opponent at a single stroke. The management of the vessel was committed to the rowers and sailors ; distinct from these were the soldiers, whose business was to fight. The sailors were all citizens, and none of them slaves. The chief commander of the vessel was called *nauclerus*. The next in office was the pilot, who had his station at the stern. It was believed that each of the larger vessels contained about 200 men in all, counting both soldiers and sailors. The common pay was about three *oboli*, nearly threepence sterling. The pay of the land forces was much the same.

The charge of arming the galleys in times of war, and of furnishing them properly with every thing necessary, was laid upon the richer sort of citizens, who were thence called *trierarchs*, a word importing *commanders of galleys of three benches of oars*. At first the number of these was not determined; but afterwards each tribe was obliged to furnish 120 men; and the tribes being then ten, the whole number of men by that means amounted to 1200. These were divided into four classes of 300 men each; of whom the first 300, being the richest, made the requisite advances; for which recourse was reserved to them against the rest. Those 1200 men were again divided into parties of sixteen men each; of whom each party was obliged to equip one galley.

As this law was extremely arbitrary, and by that means gave occasion to much injustice and oppression, Demosthenes persuaded the Athenians to establish a different rule, whereby every citizen, whose estate amounted to ten talents, was obliged to fit out one galley upon his own proper expence; if his estate was worth twenty talents, he was obliged to fit out two; and so of the rest. Those who were not worth ten talents, were to join with others, till the estates of the whole reached to that sum, and to find one galley among them.

It was the state that furnished the pay of the sailors and soldiers. The trierarch had the command of the vessel; and when there were two trierarchs, they commanded by turns, at the rate of six months each. When their office ended, they were obliged to give an account of their management, and to deliver up the ship, with every thing belonging to her, into the hands of the republic.

The Greeks had a singular taste for every species of religion. Being for the greater part originally composed of small colonies from different nations, each state had its peculiar form of worship. They

had, besides, the folly to adopt not only the various deities of one another, but likewise those of the different nations with whom they had any intercourse. Still not satisfied with the multitude of gods, by these means introduced among them, they instituted a general festival in honour of all other gods wherewith they were unacquainted; and from the Acts of the Apostles, it appears that the Athenians had erected an altar to the *unknown God*. The most remarkable particulars relating to religion among the Greeks were their temples, their sacrifices, their festivals, their oracles, and their augury.

The four principal temples belonging to the Greeks were, 1st, That of Diana at Ephesus, accounted one of the seven wonders of the world. It was about 440 feet long, and 230 wide; and was supported by 127 pillars, about 62 feet high, the whole executed by the most skilful artists. 2^d, That of Apollo in the city of Miletus. 3^d, That of Ceres and Proserpine at Eleusis. 4th, That of Olympian Jove at Athens. All these temples were built of marble, and decorated with the finest ornaments. Their architecture furnished the most perfect models in the three principal orders; namely, the Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian.

But of all the temples in Greece, the most famous by far was that of Apollo at Delphos, on account of the great credit and reverence paid by all nations to the responses of his oracle. This temple was filled with immense riches, made up of presents from the most opulent princes and states. Those particularly of Cræsus king of Lydia, were extraordinarily magnificent, consisting of vast quantities of gold and silver, and some statues of solid gold, of inestimable value. But the great wealth of this temple allured the avarice of several princes who were not over scrupulous about the crime of sacrilege. Xerxes, in his return from Greece, took possession of the greatest part of its treasures; the Phoceans plundered it several times; Sylla carried off much

of its wealth ; and the emperor Nero, long after, ordered 500 of its most valuable statues to be brought to Rome.

To give a distinct idea of the sacrifices of the Greeks, it will suffice to set down an account of that offered up on the arrival of Telemachus at Ithaca, as we find it minutely described in the third book of Homer's *Odyssey*. Nestor performed on that occasion the part of the priest or sacrificer : two men brought forward the heifer : two other men approached at the same time, the one bearing a bason of water, the other a basket containing the consecrated barley : two men more stood by, the one holding an axe, the other a vessel to receive the blood. Nestor began the ceremony, by pouring out the water, by way of libation, and scattering the barley ; after that, he cut off from the forehead of the victim some hair, which he threw into the fire, and addressed a prayer to Minerva. Then he who held the axe, cut with one blow the sinews of the neck of the heifer, which was then thrown down ; the women present pouring forth, in the meantime, their prayers, accompanied with loud exclamations : the victim being lifted up again was blooded. As soon as she was dead, they skinned and opened her : the haunches were separated from the rest of the carcase, were overlaid with a double coat of fat, covered with small pieces cut off from the other parts, and then burnt on the altar, Nestor sprinkling them with wine. When the haunches were consumed by the fire, and the entrails tasted by all present, the remaining parts were cut into convenient pieces, and roasted on spits ; and then those present sat down to the entertainment.

The Athenians observed many festivals. The principal were,

1st, The Panathenea, celebrated in honour of Minerva, the tutelar deity of the city, which from her derived its name. These were substituted by Theseus, in place of the Athenea, when he prevailed

with all the people of Attica to remove to Athens. They were solemnised every year; and, on that occasion, victory was publicly contended for in four different disputes; namely, running, wrestling, music, and poetry. Judges were appointed for regulating the form of the trial, and distributing the prizes. These disputes were followed by a solemn procession, in which a magnificent standard was carried, exhibiting the feats of Pallas against the Titans and giants. The old men walked foremost in this procession; next the oldest women; after them came all the men in the flower of their age, armed with shields and lances; they were followed by the young men of the principal families; girls carrying baskets, wherein were the consecrated things, succeeded next; and the procession was closed by young children of both sexes. In this festival, the people of Athens implored the protection of Minerva.

2dly, The festivals of Bacchus, consisting of the greater, called Dionysia, which were celebrated in spring within the city; and the lesser, called Lenea, celebrated in the autumn, and in the country. Both were attended with magnificent shows, and dramatic representations, as well of the tragic as comic kind. The initiated dressed themselves at these festivals in skins, and carried in their hands thyrsuses, with drums or horns; having their heads adorned with leaves of the vine or ivy; and personating Silenus, Pan, or the Satyrs. They were either actually drunk, the most common case, or else counterfeited drunkenness, and ran about all over the country. The women joined in the celebration of these festivals as well as the men; disguised themselves in the same manner; and seemed actuated by a sort of religious phrenzy. The vilest and most excessive debauchery and licentiousness prevailed on those occasions.

3dly, The festival of Eleusis or Ceres. This was one of the most famous, and was called, by way of

supereminence, the Mysteries. Tradition bore, that it was instituted by Ceres; who having come to Eleusis in Attica, taught the inhabitants the use of corn; and at the same time softened and humanised their savage dispositions. These mysteries were divided into the greater and the lesser: The lesser were celebrated in the month of November, and the greater in the month of August. Strangers were totally excluded from both. Before initiation, it was necessary to wash, to pray, to sacrifice, and to observe a strict continence for a certain space. The ceremony of their admission was performed in the night. On that occasion certain mysterious books were read; extraordinary voices, with claps of thunder, were heard; spectres appeared; the earth shook; and the initiated were congealed with fear. It was alleged, that very abominable things were transacted at these ceremonies; but if so, they were buried in silence; for it was highly criminal to divulge the mysteries of this festival. An archon, then honoured with the title of king, presided at the celebration of the ceremonies, having under him several officers to assist him in the discharge of his duty. All the Athenians, both men and women, were early initiated in these mysteries.

It was commonly believed, that this ceremony enjoined the practice of virtue; and procured the celebrators the peculiar protection of the goddess, and a higher degree of happiness in the next life. What strange notions have been entertained in all ages, about the manner of paying honour to the beings supposed to preside over the universe, and of reconciling their favour! It was capital for any person not initiated to enter the temple of Ceres. This festival continued nine days. The first three days were consumed in the performance of certain previous ceremonies. On the fourth was exhibited the procession of the basket, so called from its being composed of women carrying baskets filled

with certain things most carefully concealed, The fifth was the procession of the torches, when they imitated Ceres searching for Proserpine. On the sixth the statue of Bacchus, called Iacchus, was carried along. This procession set off from the Ceramicus, a suburb of Athens, and ended at Eleusis. While marching along, they sung hymns in praise of the goddess; sounded trumpets; danced, and exhibited the highest marks of joy. On the seventh day, games and combats were celebrated. The two last days were set apart for certain particular ceremonies. This festival was observed only once every four years; and while it continued, it was unlawful to arrest or to throw any person into prison.

Oracles, among the pagans, were the result of the anxious curiosity about futurity, natural to the minds of men, who, by that means, presumed to interrogate the deity about human affairs. This was the most solemn species of prophecy, to which recourse was had for the solution of all doubtful questions. To obtain the opinion of the gods about declaring war, or concluding peace, those pagans never failed to apply to some oracle; and the response, if intelligible, which was seldom the case, was religiously complied with. Jupiter was thought to be the chief source of most oracles. Those who were more immediately employed in declaring the pleasure of the god, were careful to express themselves in ambiguous terms, which might receive any explanation that the event might justify. It should seem that Greece, from its earliest times, made use of this method of consulting the gods; for we find no precise period assigned for the first introduction of oracles into that country. Those who had the chief management of affairs in the different states, found these oracles very convenient. For, when they had a mind to introduce any innovation into the system of government, or wanted any favourite measure adopted by their country-

men, they knew well how to procure the approbation of the oracle; and in that case the people never ventured to contradict the pleasure of the gods. The priests likewise found their advantage in this matter; for they took special care not to permit the god to open his mouth, till after the requisite preparations by sacrifices and presents. Oracles, therefore, appear to have been entirely of human invention, founded on the credulity of the multitude, and kept up by the self-interest of the priests, and the policy of the ruling men.

The most renowned oracle of antiquity was that of Apollo at Delphos, a town in the district of Greece called Phocis. Apollo was there worshipped under the name of Pythian Apollo, and the priestess assumed the name of Pythia. She delivered her oracles standing on a tripod called cortina, which was placed on the mouth of a hollow in mount Parnassus, whence a vapour that affected the head was supposed to issue. Round this hollow was built the temple of Delphos. In process of time, the priestess being unable alone to sustain the fatigue of giving responses to the multitude that thronged thither from all quarters to consult the oracle, was obliged to make use of an assistant, who was likewise a female.

It was only on particular days, called happy, that the priestesses uttered their prophecies. For that purpose they prepared themselves by purifications, fasts, and sacrifices. When the day arrived, the laurel tree that grew before the gate of the temple, and the earth around, were perceived to shake. As soon as the priestess was intoxicated by the vapour, her hair stood erect, her look grew wild, she foamed at the mouth, and appeared altogether frantic. Virgil, in the sixth book of his *Æneid*, represents his Cumean Sybil as actuated in the same manner. Then she uttered several indistinct words, which the priests carefully collected, and afterwards arranged according to pleasure. For these responses

were almost always dark, obscure, and capable of different interpretations. Sometimes, indeed, but extremely seldom, they were plain ; for it is hardly possible for the oracle to mistake the real solution of a few among the infinite number of questions asked. It is to be supposed, too, that the ministers of the god would employ every sort of art and deceit to impose upon the multitude ; and it is clear, from various passages in history, that they have accepted of bribes, in order to return particular responses. Some pious christians, indeed, fathers of the church, and others, were of opinion, that the devil took some concern in the matter, by the permission of the Supreme Being, that the impious inventions of those pagans might turn to their own punishment and confusion.

Augury was another species of divination to which the Greeks, as well as the other heathens, had recourse. They honoured it too with the title of science, though it consisted of the most ridiculous puerilities. For those who made augury their study, were exceedingly attentive to the notes of birds, and carefully observed whether they appeared on the right or left hand ; they took special notice of the appetite discovered by chickens for their food, of the appearance of the intrails of beasts, of monsters, of prodigies, of eclipses, and of all other extraordinary phenomena of nature. On such trifling circumstances did the most important affairs of state almost always depend. For it is amazing, that not only the vulgar, but even many of the great men among the ancients, paid implicit faith to these ridiculous absurdities. At the same time it must be acknowledged, that there were several who, so far from giving credit to this foolish farce of divination, laughed at it, and made it the butt of their raillery : such as Hannibal, Marcellus, Cicero, &c.

THE
HISTORY
OF
ANCIENT GREECE.

BOOK II.

CONTAINING THE HISTORY OF THE SECOND AGE
OF GREECE.

From the time that Hippias took refuge in Persia to the end of the Peloponnesian war, a period of about 100 years.

THIS second age is the same in the duration of the Greek nation, that the space from twenty-five to forty years of age is in the life of man, namely, the period of its greatest strength and vigour. It may not improperly, therefore, be called the manhood of Greece, being altogether made up of the most glorious days which that country ever enjoyed.

The Greeks, hitherto confined within the limits of a narrow country, had found little opportunity of displaying, in the sight of the world, their valour and virtue. But the Persian invasion that was soon to pour upon them like an impetuous torrent, was destined to set their merit in the most conspicuous point of view, and to give full scope to their wisdom and bravery. We shall by and by see a very small army of Greeks marching boldly against so vast a multitude of enemies, that a single discharge of their darts is said to have darkened the face of the sky. We shall see those few Greeks attack with undaunted resolution that immense crowd of Persian troops, and put them fairly to flight. We

shall find them in like manner engaging their enemies at sea, under the same disadvantage in point of numbers, and yet with the same success. In a word, we shall have a striking proof of the great superiority of disciplined valour over the blind impetuous courage of an irregular multitude.

During this second age we shall see the Spartans, who, by the admirable constitution of their government and their private virtues, had acquired a pre-eminence over all their neighbours, exercising their power with a severity that savoured of the austerity of their manners, and treating their allies with haughtiness and rigour. In consequence of this behaviour, we shall see those allies growing by degrees more and more impatient of the Spartan yoke, and falling gradually under the influence of Athens, who industriously availed herself of so favourable a conjuncture. The Athenians, therefore, in their turn take the lead in Greece, and maintain their superiority down to the Peloponnesian war, constantly faithful to their engagements, treating the other states as equals, and exerting their power only in doing good.

This period, so glorious for Athens, was of about fifty years' continuance. At length, however, the Athenians in like manner disgusted the other states by their haughtiness and insolence; and, by the event of the Peloponnesian war, the Spartans became a second time the first people of Greece.



CHAP. I.

The Two Persian Invasions.

DARIUS I. the son of Hystaspes, of whom 521. we have already taken notice, filled at this time the Persian throne, which he is said to have obtained by the address of his groom. We are told, that upon the death of Smerdis the magician, it was agreed among the conspirators who

had murdered him, that he of their number whose horse should neigh the first on a certain appointed day, should be elected king. The groom of Darius being informed of this agreement, carried a mare in the evening to the place where the meeting was to be holden next day, and then brought his master's horse to the mare. When, therefore, the Persian noblemen came to the place appointed, the horse of Darius no sooner reached the spot where he had met the mare the night before, than he immediately neighed, and Darius was thereupon proclaimed king by the rest.*

The Persian empire comprehended then not only all that part of Asia presently known by the name of Persia, but likewise what we call Turkey in Asia. It also included, on the African side, Egypt and several countries on the coast of the Mediterranean sea; and, on that of Europe, part of Thrace and Macedonia. Indeed it is true, that the several states in the last mentioned countries, were rather tributary than entirely dependent on the Persian power: and the same may be supposed to have been the case with some others of their more remote provinces.

But let us take a brief review of the various causes that are said to have produced the war between the Greeks and Persians. We have already observed, that Hippias contributed greatly to this event, when, upon finding all his attempts in Europe to restore himself to the sovereign power in Athens ineffectual, he took refuge in Persia; and having insinuated himself into the favour of the Persian monarch, he practised every artifice to prevail with him to attack the Athenians. But this was not all: Other causes concurred to forward the endeavours of Hippias.

Atossa daughter of Cyrus, and one of the wives of Darius, had used all her influence with her husband to persuade him to undertake an expedition

* This story has a very ludicrous appearance, and will probably stagger the belief of many readers.

into Greece, that he might thereby give the Persians a conspicuous proof of his courage and military prowess. Democedes, a physician, a man in high esteem with Atossa, was, on account of his being a native of the Greek colony, settled at Crotona in Italy, pitched on as the most proper person for travelling into Greece, to examine its situation, and the strength of the chief towns along the coast. In this journey Democedes was accompanied by fifteen Persian noblemen, who had private instructions to keep a strict watch on his behaviour, and to bring him back again to Persia. After these Persians had accompanied Democedes through the principal cities of Greece, and made the requisite observations in that country, they next passed over into Italy, but were apprehended as spies at Tarentum, and thrown into prison. Here Democedes, being seized with a strong desire to revisit Crotona his native country, found means to escape from his Persian companions, and retired to that city. The other Persians, having in a little time recovered their liberty, returned to Persia, after endeavouring in vain to prevail with the magistrates of Crotona to deliver up Democedes. Hence we see, that Darius had already begun to meditate an expedition into Greece; to the more immediate execution of which he was instigated by the following transaction.

The Ionians, originally a Greek tribe, as we have mentioned above, inhabited a considerable part of the sea-coast of Asia Minor, and had long conducted themselves as tributaries of the Persian empire. Some wealthy inhabitants of Naxos, one of the Cyclades islands, having been expelled their native country, took refuge at Miletus, where they implored the assistance of Aristagoras, the Persian governor of that city, to restore them to their native country. This suggested to Aristagoras the design of reducing the island of Naxos under the Persian power; which he hoped might open the way to the conquest of the other Cyclades. This plan he com-

municated to Artaphernes governor of Sardis, and Darius's brother, who approved of it, and procured the consent of Darius to attack Naxus. Having made the necessary naval preparations, Artaphernes gave the chief command of the expedition to Megabates a noble Persian. But the people of Naxus made so brave a resistance, that the Persians, after besieging the island for the space of four months, were obliged to abandon the enterprise. Megabates attributed the bad success of this expedition to the conduct of Aristagoras, and endeavoured to ruin him in the opinion of Artaphernes.

Aristagoras, believing his ruin inevitable, resolved, in order to avoid the resentment of the satrap, to persuade the Ionians to revolt from the Persian yoke. With this view, after having sounded the inclinations of the leading men among the Ionians, and procured their concurrence, he made a tour through the whole country, to dispose the minds of the multitude to promote the projected revolution. Then he made himself master of the Persian fleet, of which he had the command; and travelled into Greece to endeavour to prevail with its various states to second his undertaking. He began his negociation at Sparta, where he addressed himself to Cleomenes, who was then on the throne, and represented to him what a noble occasion now presented itself to the Spartans, of employing their valour in procuring liberty to their countrymen the Ionians. Cleomenes hesitated at first; but a present from Aristagoras of fifty talents, induced him at last to assent to his proposal. But, according to some authors, the Lacedemonians not only refused to hearken to the request of Aristagoras, but ordered him to depart from the city. From Sparta Aristagoras went to Athens; where the inhabitants, full of indignation against the Persians, for having lately summoned them to restore Hippias to the regal dignity, were the best inclined in the world to listen to his request. They therefore in-

stantly embraced his cause, and sent twenty ships to the assistance of the Ionians.

The first attempt of the Ionians was against 504. the city of Sardis; of which, being in a defenceless situation, they quickly got possession. But a soldier having set fire to one of the houses, the rest, which were all of wood, immediately caught the flames, and the whole city was reduced to ashes. The Ionians, alarmed in the mean time at the approach of the Persian army, resolved to retreat to Ephesus, and to betake themselves to their fleet; but the Persians overtook them, and cut many of them off.

When Darius was informed of the burning of Sardis, and that the Athenians had assisted the Ionians in their revolt, he was highly enraged, swore by a solemn oath to take vengeance on the Greeks; and gave orders to repeat in his hearing, every day when he sat down to table, "Sire, Remember the Athenians."

The Ionians, notwithstanding their late disaster, persisted in their enterprise; and, sailing towards the Hellespont, took Byzantium. But the Persians, that they might oppose them every where, divided their forces; and beat them in several engagements; in one of which Aristagoras was killed. At last uniting all their troops, the Persians marched against Miletus, the strongest city of Ionia, hoping that if they could reduce it, the other Ionian cities would soon submit. The Ionians, suspecting their design, quickly assembled their own ships and those of their allies, forming altogether a fleet of 350 sail. The Persians, not daring to attack this fleet, endeavoured by the way of negociation to detach the allies from the confederacy, and were successful. As soon, therefore, as the ships of the allies were separated from those of the Ionians, the Persians fell upon the latter, now reduced to a very small number, and entirely defeated them. Then they attacked Miletus, took it, razed it to the foun-

dation, and put all the inhabitants to the sword. The other cities, terrified by its example, immediately made their submissions. Histieus, uncle of Aristagoras, and tyrant of Miletus, having gathered together the remains of the Ionian army, made an incursion into Mysia. But he was attacked by Harpagus, who commanded a considerable body of Persian troops in that country, was defeated, taken prisoner, and sent to Artaphernes; who, knowing him to have been very active in promoting the revolt, crucified him, and sent his head to Darius.*

Darius, in the mean time, was continually meditating an expedition into Greece, that he might gratify the violent resentment he had conceived against its inhabitants. At last he gave orders to fit out a fleet of more than 300 ships, and to raise at the same time a powerful land army, that so he might crush the Greeks at once. Of these forces he gave the chief command to his son-in-law Mardonius, whose experience contributed not a little to the bad success of the expedition. In the first place, he lost many of his ships, together with a great number of men, in a violent tempest, as they were sailing round a point of land formed by mount Athos, called at present cape Santo; and next, his land-forces, in passing through Thrace, were by the Thracians attacked in their camp during the night, and a vast number of them cut off. These disasters obliged Mardonius to relinquish this first expedition, and to return back again.

A war breaking out much about the same time between the Eginetæ and Lacedemonians, the latter marched to attack the former. But by the misconduct of Demaratus, one of their kings, who had quarrelled with his brother-king Cleomenes, the enterprise miscarried. Cleomenes, in revenge, called in question the legitimacy of Demaratus's birth;

* In the year before Christ 498, Lartius was elected first dictator at Rome; and, six years after, tribunes of the people were first created.

and the matter having been referred to the decision of the oracle, the priestess was corrupted by Cleomenes, and gave judgment against Demaratus; who was thereupon deposed. Enraged at this injurious treatment, he retired to the court of Persia, where he was received in the most welcome manner, and loaded with wealth. But all this profusion of kindness could not prevail with him to do any thing prejudicial to the interests of his country.

The Athenians having likewise quarrelled with the Eginetæ, fitted out a fleet against them; and on that occasion several engagements ensued, of the circumstances of which we are ignorant. These intestine quarrels, however, gave the Athenians an opportunity of becoming very skilful in naval affairs, and prepared them to make that vigorous resistance to the Persian power, which we shall by and by relate.

Athens, in the mean time, enjoyed the sweets of the liberty procured her by the expulsion of the Pisistratidæ; and produced many citizens of extraordinary wisdom and valour; among whom Miltiades, Aristides, and Themistocles, chiefly distinguished themselves. As these three illustrious Athenians are soon to make a great figure in the affairs of Greece, we shall here exhibit in few words the chief outlines of their characters.

Miltiades was a proficient in the art of war, and no person could boast of equal skill in conducting an army. He had a particular cause of hatred against the Persians; by whom, on their entering Thrace, he had been deprived of a government he then held in that country.

Aristides and Themistocles, though much younger than Miltiades, gave proofs of the greatest abilities. But their different dispositions generally occasioned a contrariety in their opinions. Themistocles was a plebeian by birth, was naturally ambitious, and being attached by prejudice and education to the party of the people, he made it his chief study to gain the good will of the multitude. For

that purpose, he behaved on all occasions with extreme complaisance to the citizens, whom he showed himself ever ready to oblige; and he appeared very little scrupulous about the means he employed to accomplish his enterprises.

Aristides, on the other hand, being noble by birth, and an admirer by principle of the Spartan constitution, entertained a strong attachment to aristocracy. He was perfectly indifferent about popularity, and made justice the governing rule of his whole conduct, as well in public as in private life. The public welfare was the chief object of his attention; and his love for his country, his singular skill in public business, and his disinterested and upright behaviour, procured him the admiration, the confidence, and the esteem of his fellow-citizens.

While the Athenian liberty nourished such citizens as these, and while Sparta, adhering to the rigid institutions of Lycurgus, produced a whole people of the bravest soldiers, Darius resolved to fall upon Greece with all his forces. But desirous previously to sound the inclinations of its various states, with respect to the superiority he intended to claim over them, he dispatched heralds through all the cities of Greece, to demand earth and water; a symbol which denoted the submission and dependence of those from whom it was required on him who required it. The Eginetæ, and a few other cities, dreading the vast power of the Persians, admitted the superiority claimed. But the Athenians and Spartans, far from agreeing to the demand of the heralds, were so provoked at the arrogance of their commission, that, through that violent disposition natural to those who live under a republican government, they transgressed the law of nations in the persons of the heralds; one of whom they threw into a well, and another into a deep ditch, telling them, with a spirit of raillery peculiar to the Greeks, that they might take from thence as much earth and water as they pleased.

Darius, perceiving that he should meet with the most obstinate resistance in his undertaking, made more formidable preparations for war than before, and increased his armament to 500,000 men, and 500 ships; the whole commanded by Datis and Artaphernes. Hippias, happy in so favourable an opportunity of revenging himself on the Athenians, acted as guide and conductor of the expedition, under Artaphernes, by whom he had been hitherto treated in the kindest and most hospitable manner. The Persians quickly reduced all the islands in the Ægean sea; and having taken Eretria, a city in Eubœa, burnt it to the ground. Then they entered Attica, and encamped at Marathon, a small town on the sea-coast; whence they sent to inform the Athenians of the chastisement inflicted on the obstinate and disobedient Eretrians.

Upon this the Athenians applied for assistance to the Lacedemonians, who granted them 2000 men. But a superstitious maxim that prevailed at Sparta, prevented those forces from beginning their march till after the full moon; by which means they did not arrive at Athens till four days after the ensuing battle. The terror of the Persian name restrained the other states from furnishing the expected assistance. Platea alone sent 1000 soldiers to join the Athenians. In this extremity the Athenians armed even their slaves; a measure that had never been practised before; but, after all, they could muster up no more than 10,000 men. This small army was commanded by ten generals; each of whom was to exercise the chief command in his turn for no longer space than a day at a time. But when it came to be Aristides's turn to command, that magnanimous patriot, sensible of the superior skill and experience of Miltiades as a general, intreated him to accept the command in his stead. This example was followed by all the rest. When the public welfare is the sole object in view, great minds never fail to sacrifice every meaner motive to the highest consideration.

They next deliberated whether they ought to wait for the enemy in the city, or to march out and give them battle :—And indeed how little probability was there that such a handful of men should in the open field be able to sustain the shock of the Persian multitude? Miltiades, however, was of opinion, that they ought to march out and fight the enemy; and being seconded by Aristides, the other generals assented likewise. That skilful commander desired to take advantage of the imprudent situation of the Persians; who being hemmed in by the sea, by a steep mountain, and by the morass of Marathon, could bring but a small part of their forces into action, and could make no use at all of their cavalry.

The Athenians, therefore, to the number of 490. 10,000 men, marched forth against an army of 100,000 foot, and 10,000 horse. This memorable day reflected the highest glory on Miltiades. To prevent his little army being surrounded by the enemy, he drew it up with a mountain in the rear; extended his front as much as possible; placed his chief strength in the wings; and caused a great number of trees to be cut down, to keep off the enemy's cavalry from charging them in flank. The Athenians rushed forwards on the Persians like so many furious lions. This is remarked to have been the first time that they advanced to the attack running. By their impetuosity, they opened a lane through the enemy, and supported with the greatest firmness the charge of the Persians. The battle was at first fought by both parties with great valour and obstinacy; but the wings of the Athenian army, where, as we have just said, Miltiades had placed his chief strength, attacked the main body of the enemy in flank, threw them into irretrievable confusion. Six thousand Persians perished on the spot, and amongst the rest the traitor Hippias, the principal occasion of the war. The rest of the Persian army quickly fled, and abandoned to the victors their camp full of riches.

Thus the Athenians obtained a victory more real than probable. Animated by their success, they pursued the Persians to their very ships ; of which they took seven, and set fire to several more. On this occasion one Cynegirus, an Athenian, after performing prodigies of valour in the field, endeavoured to prevent a particular galley from putting to sea, and for that purpose held her fast with his right hand ; which being cut off, he next seized her with his left ; which being likewise cut off, he took hold of her with his teeth, and kept her so till he died. Another soldier, all covered over with the blood of the enemy, ran to announce the victory at Athens ; and after crying out, “ Rejoice, we are conquerors,” fell dead in the presence of his fellow-citizens. Aristides and Themistocles distinguished themselves very highly in the battle ; but Miltiades gained the chief glory. As a reward for so signal a piece of service to his country, and to perpetuate the memory of his skill and bravery, they caused him to be painted in a large picture, representing the battle, in the attitude of giving orders at the head of his 10,000 Athenians. They likewise raised monuments to the memory of those who had fallen in the engagement, and thereon inscribed the names both of the deceased and of their particular tribe.

Their success at Marathon, as having made the Greeks sensible of their own strength, is accounted the principal cause of their future victories ; and indeed the consideration of having with a handful of men defeated so vast an army, might justly inspire them with great confidence. But what may not a skilful general perform at the head of a small number of disciplined soldiers, actuated by the most ardent love for their country, and ready in its defence to confront death in every shape ?

The Persian fleet, in the mean time, attempted to surprise Athens before the Grecian army should arrive to its relief. But the victorious Greeks, by a forced march, frustrated the design of the enemy.

The Athenians, thus delivered from the Persians, resolved to chastise the islands that had assisted their enemies. For that purpose they sent out a fleet under the command of Miltiades, who very soon subdued a great number of the islands, and made them tributary to his countrymen. But he was unsuccessful at Paros, where, upon a false alarm of the arrival of the Persians, he precipitately abandoned the undertaking, and returned with his fleet to Athens. Being obliged to confine himself to his house, by a dangerous wound he had received in the course of the siege, his enemies took advantage of that circumstance to prepossess the public against him with a belief of his keeping up a traitorous correspondence with the Persian monarch. The rash inconsiderate multitude immediately condemned him to death. Every man of sense was ashamed and shocked at the injustice and cruelty of this sentence. In vain did his friends constantly remind the people of his behaviour at Marathon. All they were able to obtain, was a commutation of the sentence from death to a fine of fifty talents. His great exploits had already excited the jealousy of his fellow citizens, who either thought that they owed him too much, or were afraid lest he might aspire at sovereign authority; and careless of being called ungrateful, they accounted his late misfortune a crime. Miltiades, being unable to pay so high a fine, was thrown into prison; where his grief and indignation at such unworthy treatment rendered his wound incurable, and soon brought him to the grave. Thus did that great man afford a striking example of the ingratitude and cruelty of his inconstant and capricious countrymen.

His son Cimon, who afterwards made so great a figure, having been enabled, with the assistance of his friends, to discharge the fine, obtained the privilege of burying the dead body of his unfortunate father; whose death opened the eyes of the Athenians, and made them sensible of the injustice of

their behaviour. But their sorrow was too late, and could not redeem that excellent commander from the grave, nor even prevent their repeating the same cruelty and folly on future occasions.

The wise Aristides very soon became a second victim to their capricious ungrateful disposition ; but his disgrace was honourable, being confessedly occasioned by his steady adherence to justice. We have already mentioned, that extreme contrariety of manners and principles subsisted between him and Themistocles. The latter, though of mean extraction, was extravagantly ambitious, very bold and enterprising, and of so active a disposition, that quiet and repose seemed a burden to him. He affected to roam through the streets in the night ; and when asked the reason, answered, That he could not sleep for thinking on the trophies of Miltiades. He was exceedingly artful in finding out and availing himself of the ruling passions of men ; and was so much the more dangerous by being very eloquent. Aristides, on the contrary, was of a reserved, modest, steady disposition ; governed all his actions by the most scrupulous rules of justice ; and regarded the lofty projects of Themistocles as so many steps to sovereign power. Themistocles, impatient of being continually thwarted in his ambitious schemes by so rigid a censor as Aristides, resolved to free his hands of him at once. For that purpose he applied himself privately to form a party against Aristides ; and at last got him banished by the sentence of ostracism. It is said, that on this occasion a peasant who did not know Aristides, and could not write, having by accident applied to him to write his own name on his shell, was asked by Aristides, Whether he had ever received any provocation from the person he wanted to banish ! “None at all, sir,” answered the peasant, “but I cannot bear to hear him always called the *just*.” Aristides, without saying a word, took the shell, wrote his own name upon it, and returned it to the man. When going out of the

city, he begged of the gods, that no misfortune might happen to his countrymen which might oblige them to recal him from banishment.

Themistocles, in the mean time, foreseeing an approaching storm from the quarter of Persia, persuaded the Athenians to employ all the money they drew from their mines, in fitting out a powerful fleet for the protection of their country.

Darius, more exasperated than ever against the Greeks by the defeat of his army at Marathon, resolved to exert his utmost efforts to wipe away that disgrace, and to restore the glory of his arms. He gave orders therefore to make new levies of troops though all his provinces; and consumed no less than three years in preparing for this third expedition against Greece, which, though then pretty far advanced in years, he intended to conduct in person. But death disappointed all his projects. Darius was of a mild, humane disposition, and a strict observer of justice and the laws of his kingdom. But the keenness of his passions hurried him sometimes into measures of which his calmer reason would have disapproved. He reigned thirty-six years, and is known in scripture by the name of Ahasuerus.

After the death of Darius, his son Xerxes, the eldest of his children by Atossa his second wife, succeeded him in the kingdom of Persia, and prosecuted the warlike preparations begun by his father. Having subdued the Egyptians, he determined in the third year of his reign to carry his arms immediately into Greece.

Xerxes, therefore, assembling his council,
484. informed them that he was resolved to undertake this expedition in order to punish the Athenians for having been accessory to the burning of Sardis, to wipe away the disgrace of the defeat at Marathon, and to execute the other intentions of Darius his father. Mardonius, of whom we have made mention above, behaved on this occasion with

all the baseness of a servile flatterer, to please the vanity of his master. He assured him that no nation in the world would dare to oppose his power; and he affected to vilify and to despise extremely the courage of the Greeks. The rest of the council, perceiving the king to be mightily pleased with the flattery of Mardonius, did not fail, like well-bred courtiers, to applaud his opinion, and to coincide with him in every particular. So true it is, that princes owe almost always their greatest misfortunes to the complaisance and adulation of those about them. Artabanus alone, the uncle of Xerxes, ventured to contradict the opinion given. He endeavoured to make the king sensible of the rashness of the intended enterprise, by putting him in mind of the unfortunate success of another enterprise of the same kind attempted by his father Darius against the Scythians, and the imminent danger into which it had brought that prince, who had been utterly undone, if Histeius had, agreeable to the advice of the other officers and courtiers, destroyed a bridge he had thrown over the Danube. He likewise reminded Xerxes of the shameful defeat of the Persians at Marathon; and exhorted him not to give ear to the flattering suggestions of inexperienced courtiers, nor to suffer his reason to be dazzled with the glaring prospect of imaginary glory. He concluded with upbraiding Mardonius for the insincerity of his advice.

Princes corrupted by flattery are apt to construe an open generous behaviour into a seditious boldness. Thus Xerxes, instead of profiting by the advice of his uncle, was enraged at it; and told Artabanus, that his being brother to Darius was the only consideration which protected him from the effects of his resentment. But on cool reflection, Xerxes perceived the injustice of this treatment of his uncle; and next day acknowledged in open council that he had been in the wrong.

Herodotus relates a ridiculous story of an appari-

tion, by which he pretends that Xerxes was confirmed in his resolution of invading Greece, and Artabanus deterred from giving further opposition to that project. It is generally believed, that if there was indeed any foundation for this story of the apparition, which is extremely improbable, it must have been some trick invented by the children of Hippias, or of those whose interest it was to kindle up the war. However that may have been, Xerxes persisted in his resolution, and thought of nothing but of executing it. Before setting out for Greece he made an alliance with the Carthagenians, and sent money to their general Hamilcar, to induce him to make war on the Greek states in Sicily, in order to prevent them from sending assistance to their countrymen on the continent. With this money Hamilcar having levied in Spain and Gaul an army of 300,000 men, invaded Sicily accordingly.

Xerxes departed from Susa in the fifth year 481. of his reign, for Sardis, the place of rendezvous of his army; giving orders to his fleet to sail towards the Hellespont along the coast of Asia Minor, and commanding a passage to be cut for it through Athos, a mountain in Macedonia, that stretches out into the Hellespont, in the form of a peninsula. Though it is probable that this order was never complied with, it is nevertheless a striking instance of the ridiculous folly of this great monarch, whom sensible people will be more inclined to pity than admire. He is said, too, to have been childish enough to imagine that he could controul the elements; and to have threatened to punish them, if they should presume to oppose his designs. It is even reported that he addressed a letter in these terms to mount Athos. But this is too gross to gain implicit belief.

After having passed through Cappadocia, he halted at Celene, a town of Phrygia. Here we are told that Pythius, a very wealthy prince, received Xerxes in a most magnificent manner, and offered

him the use of his treasures ; that Xerxes, disdain-
ing to yield to him in generosity, augmented his
riches by large presents ; but that Pythius having
begged of Xerxes to leave him one of his five sons
to be the support of his old age, and to take only the
remaining four along with him in the expedition,
the cruel monster ordered the favourite son to be
put to death in presence of his father.*

Xerxes passed the winter at Sardis. From this
place he sent deputies to demand earth and water of
all the cities of Greece, except Athens and Sparta,
whom he affected thus tacitly to single out for
vengeance. In the spring he advanced towards the
Hellespont ; where he enjoyed the pleasure of see-
ing the sea covered with his fleet, and the land with
his army. Artabanus took this opportunity to make
some reflections, in the presence of the king, on the
many miseries incident to mankind ; which it is the
first duty of sovereigns to alleviate as much as pos-
sible. He insisted, at the same time, on the great
uncertainty of human affairs ; and could not help
applying his observations to the present enterprise
of Xerxes, whose army was so numerous, that no
country could for any considerable time furnish it
with subsistence, and whose fleet was too large for
any harbour to contain.

To transport his troops from Asia into Europe.
Xerxes ordered a bridge to be thrown over a strait
of the Hellespont, about a quarter of a league broad,
known at present by the name of Gallipoli. But

* This story again shocks the credibility of a considerate
reader : and it may be observed once for all, that the history of
the Persian expeditions against the Greeks rests entirely on the
authority of Grecian writers ; who, being justly prejudiced by
those invasions against the Persian tyrants, may be reasonably
supposed to have represented facts in the light the most unfav-
ourable to their oppressors, and the most glorious to their
own countrymen. In particular, the number of the forces said
to have been brought against the Greeks, is so extravagantly
great, and the temptation to exaggerate it so evident, that a judi-
cious reader will be inclined to make considerable abatements.

the work was destroyed by a storm. Xerxes, enraged at this accident, vented his resentment upon the sea. Herodotus says, he ordered it to be chastised with 300 lashes, and chains to be thrown into it, as if to bind it. Then he commanded two new bridges to be constructed, one for the army, and the other for the baggage. One of these bridges consisted of 360, and the other of 314 ships, moored endways across the strait. They were secured by large anchors against the violence of the winds and waves; and were joined together by six large cables, reaching from the one side of the strait to the other, and fastened on both sides to large wooden stakes fixed in the ground. The ships were covered with a sort of deck, and the army was seven days in passing.

When the army arrived at Dorisca in Thrace, Xerxes desired to review it; and, for that purpose, ordered it to be drawn up in the plains in the neighbourhood. By Herodotus's account, it was found to amount to 1,800,000 foot, and 80,000 horse, which, joined with the forces furnished him by the nations whom he had subdued after passing the Hellespont, formed altogether a multitude of 2,100,000 men. His fleet consisted of 1207 galleys of three benches of oars, each carrying 200 men; which, when reinforced by 120 more of the same size, furnished by the European states, formed a fleet of 1327 vessels, carrying 301,606 men, exclusive of 3000 transports. The army was commanded by six generals, of whom Mardonius was the chief. Datis was general of the cavalry; and Hydarnes of the immortal troop, composed of 6000 chosen men. Herodotus, who gives this account of Xerxes' armament, lived at the time; and further informs us, that these vast forces were supplied with provisions by a great number of ships, solely employed for that purpose, which attended the army along the coast, and continually brought them fresh supplies of all kinds of provisions. He likewise tells us, that be-

sides the preparations for this expedition made by Darius, no less than four years were employed for the same purpose by Xerxes.

Xerxes, after reviewing his army, desired Demaratus to tell him, without flattery, whether he thought the Greeks would dare to oppose him. That generous Lacedemonian frankly answered, That the Greeks, being a people inured from their cradles to poverty and a sober hardy life, had, by that means, been hitherto enabled to preserve themselves free and independent; that as they had been educated, and had always lived in liberty, he believed none of the states of Greece, but particularly his own countrymen the Lacedemonians, would ever listen to any terms that might seem to encroach upon that invaluable privilege; and that he was persuaded they alone, though deserted by all their neighbours, would not decline fighting, let their enemies outnumber them ever so much.

The Greeks, seeing the storm ready to fall upon them, were somewhat alarmed at first, but by no means discouraged. They held an assembly in the isthmus, where it was agreed to suspend all private contests, and to unite their whole forces against the common enemy. But the Boeotians, Thessalians, and several other states, who were more immediately exposed to the impending danger, having declared for the Persians, the whole burden of the war devolved on the Athenians and Lacedemonians. The former applied for assistance to their allies, to the Argives, to the Sicilians, and to the inhabitants of the islands of Corcyra and Crete: most of whom declined to join them, under the affected pretence, that they could not be admitted to an equal share in the command; the Sicilians even insisted for the chief command. Most of them therefore submitted to Xerxes. The states of Thespia and Platea alone took part with the Athenians and Spartans.

But this general desertion of the other states

served only to make those of Athens and Sparta to prepare for their defence with greater vigour and circumspection. Themistocles, fully sensible of the vast importance of this war, and of his own capacity to conduct it with all the skill and resolution it required, made it his first care to remove out of the way, by the force of money, one Epicides, who pretended to compete with him for the chief command, but whose sole merit consisted in an ostentatious eloquence, with which he had acquired considerable credit among the people. Themistocles, therefore, who had on every occasion given proof of superior parts, and shown himself capable of conducting the greatest undertakings: and had particularly on former occasions displayed a singular sagacity in seizing the decisive moment of action, was unanimously chosen commander-in-chief of the Athenian forces. Aristides was recalled, after a three years' banishment, together with all the other banished citizens; no opposition having been made to the return of his rival by Themistocles, who, on this occasion, set an example highly worthy the imitation of all men of influence in a state, by whom jealousy and rivalry ought, in times of danger, to be sacrificed to the interests of their country.

Themistocles having plainly foreseen, from the time of the battle of Marathon, that the war was nothing less than finished by that engagement; and being sensible that Athens, possessing such a barren and narrow territory, was much too weak to make head against the powerful forces of the Persians by land, had therefore from that moment applied all his attention to the increase of the naval strength of his countrymen. In this he had so far succeeded, that they at present had a fleet of 100 large galleys, besides many vessels of three banks of oars; and on the approach of Xerxes, he persuaded them to equip 100 more. To this small fleet Greece owed its preservation.

Eurybiades, a Lacedemonian, was named com-

mander-in-chief of the united forces of both states. Here we have another proof of the moderation of Themistocles, who readily sacrificed his ambition to the advantage of the common cause. For although the Athenians were entitled to claim the chief command, as having furnished two-thirds of the fleet, Themistocles nevertheless cheerfully acquiesced in the appointment of Eurybiades.

480. The first step taken by the allies was to dispatch Leonidas at the head of 10,000 men, to take possession of the defile of Thermopylæ, situated at the foot of mount Oeta, between Thessaly and Phocis, a pass no more than 90 feet broad, and the only one by which the army of Xerxes could penetrate into Achaia. In the mean time, the fleet of Xerxes coasted along the shore, regulating its motions by those of the army. Everything gave way to the Persians; and the cities through which they passed, furnished them with provisions in abundance.

Xerxes, after marching through Thrace and Macedonia, came at last to the pass of Thermopylæ, guarded by the Grecian troops, which, according to Pausanias, amounted altogether to no more than 11,000; and of these only 4000 were more immediately destined to defend the passage. But every man of that number was fully determined to conquer or to die. Xerxes was far from thinking that the Greeks would dare to dispute his passage. But finding himself mistaken, and being informed by Demaratus, that a handful of men might at this place stop for a considerable time all his forces, he endeavoured to corrupt Leonidas by magnificent presents, and the most tempting promises, even that of making him supreme lord of Greece. But Leonidas having rejected all his temptations with disdain, Xerxes thereupon commanded him, by a messenger, to send him his arms; "Let your king come and take them," answered Leonidas. Then the Medes advanced against the Greeks; but be-

ing unable to sustain their attack, were obliged to retreat. The troop of Persians, distinguished by the name of immortal, next charged the Greeks, and fought with great valour, so that the pass was chocked up with the dead. While the best troops of Xerxes were thus sacrificed to the Spartan valour, an inhabitant of the country having discovered to the Persians a secret path conducting to an eminence that commanded the pass, a large detachment was immediately sent to take possession of it.

Leonidas receiving intelligence that the top of the rocks forming the pass were occupied by 20,000 Persian troops, whose darts must soon overwhelm him and his small party, intreated the greater part of his men to retire, and reserve themselves for a more advantageous opportunity of serving their country; while he himself, with about 300 Spartans and a few Thespians, would maintain the pass to the last. The rest having accordingly departed, "Come, my friends," said Leonidas, "let us dine cheerfully, in the hope of supping together in the other world." His brave companions, who were superior to all praise, encouraged by the example of their chief, thought of nothing now but to sell their lives as dearly as possible; believing it incumbent on them, as the leading people of Greece, to devote themselves to certain death, thereby to convince the barbarians how much it must cost them to reduce a free people to slavery. In the dead of night, this heroic troop, advancing directly forwards to the tent of the king, penetrated to the middle of the Persian camp, cut off all that came in their way, and spread the most dreadful consternation among the enemy. But day-light at last discovering them distinctly to the Persians, they were immediately surrounded, and, being rather overwhelmed than conquered, breathed their last above heaps of slaughtered enemies; leaving to after ages an example of intrepidity before un-

known, and hardly to be paralleled in history. The Persians are said to have lost upwards of 20,000 men in this engagement; and, among the rest, the two brothers of Xerxes.

To the memory of those brave defenders of Greece, a superb monument was afterwards erected, bearing two inscriptions; the one in honour of all those who had served on that occasion, importing, that an army of 4000 Peloponnesian Greeks had there stopped the progress of the whole Persian force; the other in honour of Leonidas, and his 300 Spartans, expressed in a few simple words, to this effect: "Go, passenger, tell at Sparta, that we
"died here in obedience to her laws."

This famous action at Thermopylæ, in the opinion of Diodorus Siculus, contributed very highly to the subsequent advantages obtained by the Greeks. For the Persians, astonished at so striking an instance of desperate valour, thence concluded, that it was hardly possible to subdue a nation of such undaunted resolution; and the Greeks likewise perceived from the same example, that valour and discipline are capable of vanquishing the greatest multitude, and that therefore it was possible to overcome the Persians.

The very day that Leonidas fell at Thermopylæ, the Athenian fleet, commanded by Themistocles, having discovered, while cruizing off Artemisa, a promontory of Eubœa, a detachment of the enemy's fleet, amounting to 200 vessels, attacked them in the night, and sunk more than thirty of them; and the rest were that same night wrecked on the coast of Eubœa by a storm that succeeded the engagement. The Athenians received next day a reinforcement of 53 ships more, attacked those of the Cilicians, and sunk many of them. A general engagement ensued the same day, in which both parties fought with great bravery: and though neither could boast of the victory, yet the loss was most considerable on the side of the Persians. From the

event of these several actions, the Athenians learned, that victory is not always determined by the greater number of ships. Hearing, in the mean time, of what had passed at Thermopylæ, the Greeks thought it advisable to retire nearer home, and therefore set sail for Salamis, a small island not far from Attica. The very same day too of the action at Thermopylæ, the Carthaginian army, amounting to 300,000 men, which co-operated with the Persians, and was endeavouring to reduce the Greek states in Sicily, was totally defeated by Gelon, tyrant of Syracuse.

Xerxes having now advanced into Phocis, after marking his march all along with the effects of his resentment, the Peloponnesians resolved to fortify themselves within the isthmus. The Athenians, therefore, seeing themselves on the eve of being crushed under the whole weight of the Persian power, sent, in this extremity, to consult the oracle; who told them, “That the only means of preserving their city were wooden walls.” These wooden walls pointed out by the oracle, were interpreted by Themistocles to be their ships; and he told his countrymen, that the sole means of preservation left, was to abandon the city, and to betake themselves to their fleet. This advice was not at all relished by the people, who shuddered at the thoughts of deserting their gods, and the tombs of their ancestors. Themistocles, however, succeeded at last, in persuading them, that the existence of Athens depended neither on its houses nor its temples, but on the lives of its citizens; and that the gods themselves had, by the mouth of the oracle, plainly declared it to be their pleasure, that the Athenians ought to leave their city for a while. The people, at last, convinced by his eloquence, consented to go on board of their ships.

It is difficult to say, whether we are more affected on this occasion by the melancholy situation of the Athenians, thus compelled by a barbarous prince

to desert their native country ; or by the heroic resolution of those Athenians to go in this manner into a sort of voluntary banishment, rather than to submit to their oppressor.

The Athenians conveyed their women, children, and the greater part of their old men to Trezene, a small town on the sea-coast of Peloponnesus, where they were received with all the marks of humanity that their situation required. But many of their oldest men were left in the citadel, being unable, by reason of their great age and infirmities, to undergo the fatigue of transportation.

Xerxes in the mean time approaching towards Athens, sent a detachment of his troops to plunder the temple of Delphos, which contained immense riches. But Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus both tell us, that most of the soldiers sent on this errand perished by the way in a violent tempest.

The Persian army arriving at Athens, find nothing but silence and solitude within the walls. They attack the citadel, which, after a brave resistance by its feeble garrison, was taken by storm, and all within it were put to the sword. Xerxes ordered the rest of the city to be set on fire.

In the mean time differences were like to arise in the Grecian fleet commanded by Eurybiades, one half of them being of opinion, that they ought to advance towards the isthmus of Corinth, to be at hand to support their army ; and the other, that they ought by no means to quit the advantageous post at Salamis. The latter opinion was supported by Themistocles, who on this occasion gave another proof of his extraordinary moderation and coolness of temper. For while he was maintaining his opinion with some warmth against Eurybiades, who was a man of a very choleric disposition, the latter flew in a passion, and lifted up his cane to strike him. Themistocles called out to him, "Strike, but hear me." His eloquence and firmness at last prevailed ; and the Greeks saw that, being extremely

inferior to the enemy in the number, as well as in the size of their ships, it was of the highest importance to avail themselves of their present situation, and to give battle in such a narrow strait as that of Salamis, where the enemy could not bring all their fleet into action. They resolved, therefore, to prepare to fight the Persians in this strait.

The Persians too determined to give battle, contrary to the opinion of queen Artemisa, who represented to them, that the loss of a sea-fight must be inevitably attended with the destruction of their army at land. But her advice, though the most prudent, was rejected ; Xerxes himself having declared his sentiments for their coming to action. Themistocles, in the mean time, to put it entirely out of the power of his countrymen to retire from Salamis, contrived to have false intelligence conveyed to Xerxes, of their intending to decline the engagement, and to make their escape, and therefore advising him to order his fleet instantly to advance and block them up. This stratagem he communicated to Aristides, who undertook to exhort the rest of the commanding officers with whom he was in great credit, not to be dismayed at seeing themselves hemmed in, but to behave with their usual intrepidity. The stratagem had the desired effect : and the Greeks seeing no other possibility of escaping, except by fighting their way through the midst of the enemy, prepared for the engagement.

Xerxes, who was on shore, being desirous of seeing the battle, ordered a superb throne to be erected for him on an eminence. The fleet of the Greeks consisted of 380 sail. Themistocles, who that day commanded it, waited for the rising of a wind, which regularly began to blow at a certain hour, in a direction exactly in the face of the enemy. The Persians began the attack with great bravery ; but the small fleet of the Greeks, acting by the skill of its commanders under every advantage, soon threw the enemy's first line into confusion, and sunk the

Persian admiral. Those that followed him, intimidated by his fate, partly betook themselves to flight, and partly were sunk. On the wings, however, the action continued very warm and obstinate; but the wind being against the Persians, the unwieldy size of their ships rendering them very difficult to be managed, and their great number rather embarrassing than availing them in such a narrow strait, they could not long sustain the impetuosity of the Athenians, but fell into a general disorder. The Ionians, mindful of their Grecian extraction, were the first that fled; and they were quickly followed by the rest of the Persian fleet, which soon appeared scattered up and down in flight and confusion.

Queen Artemisa signalised herself by a courage far above her sex. In the height of the battle, perceiving herself to be on the point of falling into the hands of the Greeks, she immediately hung out Grecian colours, and attacking one of the Persian galleys, sunk it. The Greek that pursued her, deceived by this stratagem, believed her to be one of his own party, and quitted the pursuit. The victory cost the Greeks 40 ships; but of the Persians 200 were either taken or sunk.

This engagement, one of the most memorable recorded in ancient history, acquired immortal fame to the Grecian wisdom and courage. The renowned Cimon, though yet but a young man, distinguished himself highly on that occasion, and gave evident signs of his future greatness. But as the principal glory of the victory belonged to Themistocles, the eyes of all the Greeks were fixed on him as their deliverer; and the highest honours were conferred on him. At this time every sentiment of jealousy was overlooked, and none exceeded the Lacedemonians in their encomiums on Themistocles, whom they crowned with laurel, the reward of wisdom and valour. When he appeared at the Olympic games, the whole assembly rose up to give him place; every eye was fixed on him alone; and that day was the most glorious of his life.

This important defeat astonished and disconcerted Xerxes in the highest degree. Mardonius, however, endeavoured to compose his mind by palliating his loss ; but at the same time advised him to set out for Persia ; assuring him, that with 300,000 of his land forces, he, Mardonius, did not doubt of being able to conquer the Greeks, notwithstanding the late disaster. The remains of the Persian fleet took refuge in Cumes, a harbour in Eolia.

On the other hand, Themistocles, in concert with Aristides, sent private intelligence to Xerxes, that the Greeks were preparing to destroy his bridge over the Hellespont. That weak credulous prince believed the information, and leaving Greece in a violent hurry, with a strong guard of his best troops, arrived, after a very painful march of forty-five days, (attended with the double misery of famine and disease, which destroyed the greatest part of his troops) at the bridge, but had the mortification to find it already demolished by a great storm. This mighty prince, therefore, whose numerous fleet had lately covered the sea, was reduced to the necessity of passing the strait in a poor fishing bark. Thus was the vanity effectually humbled, and thus ended all the lofty projects of this impious and presumptuous man, who, before leaving his own dominions, had ordered all the Greek temples of Asia to be burnt, and the immense riches contained in them to be applied to defray the expence of his expedition.

Mardonius, after wintering in Thessaly, took the field, and began his operations, by making very advantageous offers to the Athenians, to detach them from their confederacy with the other states, promising not only to rebuild the city, and to give them a vast sum of money, but to set them at the head of all Greece. Aristides, then archon, answered the messengers of Mardonius, that all the gold in the world was insufficient to corrupt the Athenians, or to induce them to desert the defence of the common liberty of their country ; that while the

sun continued to light the world, the Athenians would remain the mortal enemies of the Persians, and would revenge, to the utmost of their power, the mischief they had brought upon their country, and the burning of their houses and temples. As soon as Mardonius received the answer of the Athenians, and thence saw that no motive could induce them to break their engagements, he ordered his army to advance towards Attica. The Athenians, on the approach of the Persian army, left their city a second time, and retired to Salamis. Mardonius thereupon sent new deputies to them, with terms still more advantageous than the former; but the Athenians were so far from accepting them, that they stoned to death one Lycidas, only for saying that they ought to give an audience to the deputies. The Persian general, provoked at the contempt with which the Athenians treated all his proposals, entered Athens, and burnt every thing that had formerly escaped the fury of Xerxes.

In this situation, the Athenians complained to the Lacedemonians of their not having sent them the stipulated succours. The latter were then solely intent on maintaining their ground within the Peloponnesus, and defending the entry of the isthmus; but, in compliance with the requisition of the Athenians, who made a great outcry against the slowness of their proceedings, they sent to their assist 5000 Spartans, each of whom was attended by seven Helots. These forces, joined with those of the Athenians and Peloponnesians, formed altogether an army of about 70,000 men; which, after assembling at Eleusis, followed Mardonius into Bœotia, and encamped at the foot of mount Citheron. Pausanias, son of Cleombrotus, and viceroy of Sparta, commanded the Lacedemonian troops; and Aristides those of the Athenians. The Persian army then amounted to 300,000 men.

Pausanias in the mean time advanced towards Platea, with his forces drawn up in battle array :

the Athenians being on the right wing, and
479. opposed to the Persian troops; and the Lacedemonians on the left, opposed to the Greek troops in the service of the Persians. The Megareans, who were encamped on the plain, having been attacked by the Persian cavalry, were, after a very brave and long resistance, on the point of giving way, when 300 Athenians ran to their relief. The battle then became more obstinate than before. But Magistius, who commanded the Persian cavalry, being slain, his men betook themselves to flight. The death of this officer, who was reckoned the ablest in the Persian army, spread universal consternation through all their troops. Ten days intervened between this action and the general engagement. Artabazus was of opinion, that the Persians ought to avoid a general battle; but Mardonius, a man of a violent fiery disposition, thought otherwise. Pausanias and Aristides, informed of the design of the Persians to attack them, drew up their army in battle order near the city of Platea; which Mardonius perceiving, changed the intended order of this attack. That day was wholly taken up with these evolutions. But the Greeks, finding themselves straitened for water in their present situation, resolved to decamp. Mardonius believing this movement to be a flight, immediately advanced with his men, uttering loud shouts, and charged the rear of the Greek army, composed of the Lacedemonians; who, forming themselves in a column, opposed the enemy with their usual valour, and falling on the Persians, with the greatest fury, made a dreadful slaughter.

Mardonius fell in the beginning of the action. The main body of the Greek army advancing in the mean time to the charge, in separate detachments, completed the overthrow of the Persians. In another quarter of the field, the 40,000 Greeks in the Persian service, who were engaged with the troops commanded by Aristides, hearing of the

flight of the barbarians, followed their example, and retreated likewise; but rallied in their camp, and there intrenched themselves. The Lacedemonians, however, supported by the Athenians, attacked and forced their entrenchments; after which nothing was to be seen but a general massacre: for the Persians, being too numerous to be made prisoners, received no quarter, and were all put to the sword. Artabazus, after distinguishing himself both as a skilful officer and as a brave soldier, collected the scattered remains of the Persian army, amounting now to no more than 44,000 men, and returned with all expedition towards Persia. The loss of the Greeks in this engagement was about 10,000 men.

The Greeks, as a monument of this memorable victory, erected a statue to Jupiter in the temple of Olympia, inscribed with the names of all the states of Greece who had fought at Platea. It came next under consideration, whether the prize of valour ought to be adjudged to the Athenians or to the Lacedemonians. But to avoid all controversy on this head, whereby the general joy arising from the victory might be disturbed, the question was, by the influence of Aristides, referred to the determination of the other Greeks; who, to prevent any jealousy between those rival states, adjudged it to belong to the Plateans. Then, after sending a tripod of solid gold to the temple at Delphos, and setting apart a tenth of the spoil, as an offering to the gods, to be applied to religious purposes, they divided, with great justice, the rest of the spoil; which was so immense, that Justin is of opinion, it was the first great cause of the corruption of the Grecian manners.

By the persuasion of Aristides, the Greeks passed a solemn decree, obliging all the states to send deputies to Platea, to offer sacrifices to Jupiter the deliverer; instituting public games at that place every fifth year; and ordering a fleet of 100 ships, and an army of 10,000 foot, and as many horse, to be kept always on foot, for making continual war on the

barbarians. The Plateans were appointed to celebrate in time coming the anniversary of all those who had fallen in this battle; which they regularly performed with much pomp and ceremony.

The Persian fleet having, in the mean time, sailed towards Samos; that of the Greeks, under the command of Leotychides the Lacedemonian, and Xantippus the Athenian, advanced as far as Delos, upon the earnest intreaty of the inhabitants of Chios, who begged to be delivered from their subjection to the barbarians; and likewise in consequence of secret intelligence received by them, of the intention of the Ionians to revolt. The Persians, hearing of the approach of the Greeks, retired to Mycale in Asia Minor, where they drew their vessels on shore, and surrounded them with a deep ditch. The Greeks, however, pursued them thither; and, with the assistance of the Ionians, attacked them. The battle was at first bravely fought on both sides. But the Milesians and Samians, followed by the rest of the Asiatic Greeks, having deserted from the Persians, the latter were vanquished, and 40,000 of them cut in pieces. The Athenians took possession of the enemy's camp, burned the Persian fleet, and returned to Samos with a vast deal of plunder. This engagement happened on the same day with that of Platea.

Thus did that memorable day for ever free the Greeks from any future Persian invasions, and delivered them from those innumerable armies of barbarians, which, like clouds of locusts, had consumed their country for two whole years. These grievous defeats were never forgotten by the Persian monarchs; and they entirely cured Xerxes of all desire of undertaking any other enterprises of the same kind. He thought no more of executing vengeance on the Greeks; and, to efface all remembrance of his past disasters, he gave himself wholly up to every sort of voluptuousness and debauchery. His court became one general scene of the most shame-

ful excesses, murder and incest succeeding each other in a perpetual round. This weak licentious prince was at length put to death by his own subjects.

The severe effects of tyranny formerly experienced by the Athenians, had excited in them such a strong desire of liberty, that, to preserve it, they boldly hazarded the greatest dangers. Their bravery, however, was admirably supported and conducted by the wisdom and skill of their generals, who were particularly attentive to choose such a situation for giving battle, that the enemy could not much avail themselves of their vast superiority in point of number.

CHAP. II.

Affairs of Greece, from the final disappointment of the Persian invasion under Xerxes, to the commencement of the Peloponnesian war.

THE Athenians having now recovered perfect tranquillity, brought back their wives and children to Athens; of which they rebuilt the walls, and considerably increased the extent. The Lacedemonians taking umbrage at this, from an apprehension lest Athens should become too powerful, represented to the Athenians, that it was the general interest of Greece to have no fortified place without the Peloponnesus, because, in case of a fresh invasion, it might serve for a retreat and warlike magazine to the enemy. Themistocles having procured himself to be named ambassador to Lacedemon, there, to justify the conduct of his countrymen, maintained in open senate, that it was as much for the common advantage of the allies as for that of the Athenians, that the latter had fortified their city with good walls; that besides, it was but equitable that they, as well as the rest, should take proper measures for their own safety; and, in fine, that they were able to defend themselves either against foreign or domestic enemies.

In the next place, Themistocles, solely intent on increasing the power of the republic, fortified Pyreus, the famous harbour of Athens, in the same manner as he had done the city; and persuaded the Athenians to augment their fleet yearly with twenty ships. The object of this skilful politician was to deprive the Lacedemonians of the superiority hitherto possessed by them over the other states of Greece. But it must be confessed, that he was not very scrupulous with regard to the means employed by him for that purpose. An instance of this was his project of burning the Grecian fleet in the harbour of Pegazus, whither it had retired to winter after the defeat of Mardonius; or, according to some authors, that part of it only which belonged to the Lacedemonians. But not daring openly to propose this scheme, he was desired by the people to communicate the matter privately to Aristides; who having been accordingly informed of it, declared to the people, that though the project of Themistocles was indeed highly useful, yet, at the same time, it was most unjust. Themistocles was therefore prohibited from putting it in execution. How becoming, thus to see a whole state prefer what was just to what was useful! and what a high idea of the justice of Aristides must we not conceive, when we see him chosen singly, by a whole people, to determine whether a project of the utmost general importance was just or unjust!

The Lacedemonians, about this time, proposed that the deputies who had formerly been admitted to seats in the council of the amphictyons, from Thessaly, from Thebes, from Argos, and from the other states that had submitted to Xerxes, should, as a punishment for their defection from the common cause, be for the future deprived of that privilege. The proposal appeared to be equitable, and coincided with the resentment entertained of the pusillanimous and treacherous conduct of those states. But Themistocles, apprehensive lest by the

proposed exclusion, the Lacedemonian interest might preponderate too much in that important council, employed all his eloquence and address to get the proposal rejected: and his endeavours were successful. This step exasperated the Lacedemonians extremely against Themistocles, whom they ever after opposed in all his schemes. In particular they exerted their influence to support the rising fortunes of Cimon in opposition to Themistocles; and by their intrigues they were very instrumental in promoting the subsequent persecution and banishment inflicted on him by his ungrateful countrymen.

Aristides having nothing in view but the welfare of his country, was continually employed in promoting her interests. His prudence prevented disturbances that were likely to arise in Athens by the licentious and turbulent disposition of the people, who, finding themselves now in peace and security, desired to take the whole power of government into their own hands. To these seditious projects they were chiefly instigated by Themistocles, partly from motives of opposition to his rival Aristides, who supported the party of the better sort; but principally from partiality to the party of the commons, to which his birth naturally attached him. Aristides, to quiet them, procured the office of archon, hitherto confined to the richer tribes, to be rendered attainable by every rank in the state. By this concession he for the present satisfied the people, and diverted them from a scheme that must infallibly have occasioned a civil war.

As the Persians were still in possession of some cities in Asia Minor, the Athenians and Lacedemonians resolved to deliver those cities from their subjection; and for that purpose, sent out a fleet under the command of Pausanias, Aristides, and Cimon the son of Miltiades. This expedition was attended with the desired success, and the Persian garrisons were expelled from all the cities. Then

the fleet sailed up the Hellespont, and attacked Byzantium ; which Pausanias had the glory of taking. But the haughty disposition natural to that Spartan, appeared to be greatly increased by his late success. He treated the officers in the most arrogant and overbearing manner, and soon became perfectly unsupportable. This excessive pride stained the glory of his actions, and at last brought on his ruin. For desiring to become the son-in-law of Xerxes, his vanity induced him to betray his country, and he offered to make that monarch master of Sparta, and of all the rest of Greece, on condition of receiving his daughter in marriage, and of being invested with sovereign authority over the country he should thus betray. Xerxes embraced the proposal, and transmitted to Pausanias large sums of money, to enable him to make good his engagements. The plot, however, was discovered. But as the Lacedemonians could not, for the present, procure sufficient evidence of his treason to justify a capital punishment, they were satisfied with deposing him.

The allies, now weary of their subjection to Sparta, which Pausanias had exercised over them with the utmost severity, and charmed at the same time with the mildness, affability, and justice of Aristides and Cimon, conferred on them the chief command of the fleet, and put themselves under the protection of the Athenians. Thus did Sparta, by the haughty imperious behaviour of Pausanias, lose that superiority over the rest of Greece, which her justice and moderation had at first procured her.

As Cimon is about to appear in a very interesting light, as chief commander in Asia, it is proper here to take notice of a few particulars of his life, previous to his appearing in that character. We have already mentioned his having undertaken to discharge the fine imposed upon his father, in order to obtain the privilege of burial for his dead body. That act of filial affection had procured him the esteem of every body. Thenceforward he daily

gave distinguished marks of the finest parts, and soon showed himself capable of rivalling his father in valour and military skill; Themistocles in acuteness and prudence; and Aristides in integrity and justice. The latter conceived the highest regard for Cimon while yet very young; and perceived that he was equal to the most important offices of the state. In the two memorable engagements at Salamis and Platea, Cimon signalized himself remarkably, and quickly attracted the admiration of his countrymen.

After delivering the Greek colonies from the Persian yoke, he continued to push on his conquests in Asia, and reduced several of the enemy's cities. He next attacked, near the island of Cyprus, with a fleet of 250 sail, that of the Persians, amounting to 340 sail, and, supported by a powerful army, encamped along the shore. The engagement was desperately supported at first. But the Greeks having sunk several of the enemy's ships, put the rest to flight. Then Cimon, sailing towards the Thracian Chersonese, took the city of Eione on the banks of the Strymon. On this occasion, the Persian, Butes, who was governor of the city, finding it impossible to preserve the city, threw his riches into the river, and then burnt himself and all his family on a funeral pile.

After this, Cimon subdued the other states in that country, drove from Syrops the pirates that infested the Egean sea, established an Athenian colony in their place, and made himself master of Naxus. Cruising along the coasts of Asia, he reduced all the maritime cities of Caria and Lycia, and left not the Persians in possession of a single inch of ground between Ionia and Pamphylia. Hearing that the Persian fleet lay at anchor at the mouth of the river Eurymedon, waiting for a reinforcement of Phenician ships, that they might attack him with their united forces, he immediately sailed against the former to prevent their junction; charged them with such

vigour, that they were obliged, in spite of their superiority in number, to run their ships aground, and took more than 100 of them. Without giving his men time to breathe after their victory, he instantly landed them and attacked the army of the enemy, which was drawn up on the banks of the Eurymedon. The Persians sustained the first charge of the Greeks with great firmness. But the troops of Cimon, animated by their late success, broke them at last, put them fairly to flight, made a great number of them prisoners, and got a vast booty. Cimon crowned his victories with the capture of the Phœnician fleet which was coming to the assistance of the Persians, and by that means gave a fatal blow to the Persian naval power.

The Lacedæmonians, importuned by continual complaints against Pausanias, summoned 474. him to return home to justify his conduct. He obeyed, and was for the present acquitted, either through the defect of evidence, or the gratitude of his countrymen for his past important services. He returned, therefore, to Byzantium; but immediately renewed his negotiations with Artabazus, to whom Xerxes had referred him, that they might together settle the plan of operations. The whole matter, however, was at last clearly brought to light. A slave, whom he had charged with certain dispatches for Asia, having observed, that of all his companions formerly dispatched thither on business of the same kind, none had returned, became apprehensive of meeting with the same fate himself. He was therefore tempted to open the letter of his master; where, perceiving at once all the importance of his commission, he resolved to deliver his dispatches to the ephori, who, after maturely weighing every circumstance, ordered the slave to take refuge in the temple of Neptune; and then propagated a report, that the reason of his doing so, was to beg pardon of the god for having opened a letter of his master. Pausanias hastens to the temple; where the ephori

being concealed, overhear his whole conversation with the slave, are thereby entirely convinced of the full extent of his treason, and resolve to bring him to immediate punishment. Pausanias, perceiving his danger, flies for safety to the temple of Minerva. The ephori, not choosing to violate the privilege of the temple, but desiring, at the same time to punish the traitor, ordered the entry to be shut up, and part of the roof to be uncovered, that he might be starved to death; which happened accordingly.

The ardent passion of Themistocles for power
471. at length offended the Athenians; who, provoked at his constantly reminding them of his services, banished him from Athens. Themistocles was obliged to take refuge at Argos. In the mean time, it was alleged that some passages in letters, found in the possession of Pausanias after his death, seemed to indicate a secret understanding between him and Themistocles. But the truth of this fact was never properly ascertained. The Lacedemonians, however, upon whose ambition he had been a constant check, took advantage of this circumstance to ruin him, and communicated the pretended discovery to the Athenians. Themistocles endeavoured to justify himself by letter. But his enemies, glad of so fair an opportunity of accomplishing his destruction, used every argument to convince his countrymen of his guilt, and were at last successful. Themistocles, getting notice of these proceedings, retired to the island of Corcyra, and from thence into Epirus. But thinking himself unsafe even there, he next took refuge at the court of Admetus king of the Molossi. This was a very dangerous and daring step in Themistocles. That prince entertained a strong resentment against him, on account of some suit of his having been harshly refused by the Athenians, while the authority of Themistocles was at its height among that people. Touched, however, at seeing at his feet, and in his power, the greatest man of Greece, he gave him a kindly reception, and

resolved to protect him. We shall by and by see the fate of Themistocles.

Let us now resume the general history of Greece, where we shall behold the glory of Aristides in full splendour. The Athenians, at present in the undisputed possession of the principal authority in Greece, and by consequence, enjoying uncontrouled influence in the management of public affairs, resolved, in compliance with the request of several of the states, to put the funds furnished for the purpose of the general defence of the country on a new footing, by imposing on each city a tax proportionable to its whole revenue. It required a man of great integrity and disinterestedness to proportion and to collect this tax. Aristides was unanimously pitched upon for that purpose; and he discharged the trust reposed in him to the satisfaction of all the parties concerned, and in such a manner as did honour to the choice of his countrymen. The period of his administration is considered as the happiest in the history of the Greeks. For in the sequel, under the management of Pericles and his successors, the increase of unnecessary expences required the tax to be first doubled, and afterwards tripled.

It is hardly possible to carry the contempt of riches to a greater length than Aristides did. He even gloried in his poverty. Of his sentiments on this head, he gave evident proofs in his defence of Callias, one of the richest citizens of Athens, to whom it was imputed as a crime, that, being rich, and the friend of Aristides, he had nevertheless suffered him to remain in poverty. But of this charge Aristides fully justified him, by declaring to the judges, that Callias had often pressed him to accept of considerable sums, but which he had as often refused, from a persuasion, that the want of riches prevented in him all desire of superfluities, and left him at liberty to apply himself entirely to the management of public affairs. What magnanimity!

The leading men who succeeded Aristides, reple-

nished Athens with beautiful porticoes, with statues, and with other decorations ; but his study, says Plutarch, was to adorn it with virtue. He was not always, adds the same author, a magistrate ; but he was always employed in the service of his country. His house was a public school for sound policy, wisdom, and virtue ; and was ever open to all the Athenian youth, who repaired thither as if to consult an oracle, and were listened to and instructed by him in the most familiar and obliging manner. Though he had, on several occasions, given signal marks of his courage, as at the battle of Marathon, when he supported the opinion of Miltiades, to march out and give battle to the Persians in the open field, yet equity was his distinguishing characteristic, and procured him the appellation of *just*. He possessed uncommon equality of temper, which did not desert him even in his banishment, but enabled him to preserve his affection for his country, and to petition the gods in favour of his fellow-citizens, at the very instant when they were treating him with the most cruel ingratitude. His only object was the glory of Athens ; and provided she were successful against her enemies, he was little solicitous whether it was by his means or those of another. Of this he gave a strong proof with respect to Themistocles. After sharing with him the whole danger and conduct of the war, he never offered to dispute with him the glory of the success ; but suffered him to enjoy it without a rival. Aristides was in all respects the perfect model of a good citizen.

The reader cannot fail to be anxious to know the circumstances attending the last part of the life, and the final exit of this great man. But historians have left us altogether in the dark on that point. It is probable, however, that he ended his days in peace. History only informs us, that, after possessing for a long while the sole management of the public money, he died in such absolute poverty, as not to leave sufficient funds to bury him. But the

republic charged itself with this last duty to its best citizen ; and likewise with the care of providing suitable matches for his daughters ; and his son Lysimachus was maintained in the Prytaneum at the public expence.

It was nearly about the time of which we
455. are now speaking, that the Romans, having heard of the wisdom of the Greek institutions, sent ten of their citizens to Athens, to inform themselves of the different laws there established. It was from the collection made at Athens by those ten citizens, that the laws of the twelve tables were composed, which formed the basis of the after system of Roman jurisprudence.

Artabanus, captain of the guards to Xerxes, seeing his sovereign disgusted with all attempts of conquest, immersed in pleasure, and despised by his subjects, conceived the design of dethroning him ; and for that purpose formed a conspiracy with one of the chief eunuchs. Having accordingly assassinated Xerxes in his chamber, he hastens to find Artaxerxes, surnamed Longimanus, that prince's third son ; acquaints him with the murder of his father, and accuses Darius, the eldest son of Xerxes, as the murderer. Artaxerxes believing the villain, kills his brother in the first transports of his rage, and mounts the throne. Artabanus forms a confederacy for dethroning the new king. Artaxerxes getting intelligence of this conspiracy, puts Artabanus to death. The partisans of the latter, together with his sons, to the number of seven, all grown men, resolved to revenge the death of Artabanus. This new confederacy against Artaxerxes produced an open war, and a bloody battle. But Artaxerxes prevailed in the end, and exterminated the greater part of his enemies. Become at last peaceable possessor of his kingdom, he deposed all his viceroys of whose fidelity he entertained any suspicion ; reformed many abuses that had crept in during the late reign ; and acquired the character of a great prince. We

shall have occasion to make mention of him more than once in the sequel.

Let us once more look back to Themistocles. The Athenians, resolved not to permit him to remain in quiet under the protection of king Admetus, required that prince to deliver him up, under pain of their displeasure. Themistocles, informed by Admetus of the dilemma into which he had brought himself on his account, determined, without hesitation, to retire to a greater distance still from his cruel and ungrateful countrymen : He goes on board of a ship ; and, after escaping several dangers, arrives at Cumes in Armenia. The Persian monarch having heard of his being proscribed by his countrymen, had already set a price on his head ; and issued orders, that all persons who arrived in any part of the coast of his dominions should be strictly examined. Themistocles, however, found means to reach Eolia undiscovered ; and, by the friendship of his host, a man of considerable substance in that country, he was from thence conducted in a covered waggon to Suza ; the conductor of the waggon telling those he met, that the person conveyed in the waggon was an Ionian lady, whom he was conducting to a nobleman at court. He was permitted therefore to pass without farther enquiry, the ladies in Persia being always carefully guarded from public view.

As soon as he came to the court of Artaxerxes, he told that he was a Greek, and begged an audience of the king. Being accordingly admitted into the royal presence, he prostrated himself as usual before the monarch, and made a most moving speech to obtain his protection. You see, at your feet, says he, Themistocles ; a man who has indeed done much harm to the Persians, but who has it in his power to render them important services. My life is in your power. If you save it, you will eternally oblige a man who begs it at your hands ; if you deprive me of it, you will destroy the greatest enemy of

Greece. Artaxerxes was astonished at his intrepidity, and could not help admiring him. He made him no answer for the present; but, on being left alone, he gave himself up to the highest transports of joy, crying out from time to time, "I have Themistocles in my power." Next day, however, after deliberating coolly on this unforeseen event, he resolved to act the generous part, and to bind Themistocles to his interests, by loading him with favours. He therefore called him into his presence; received him in the kindest and most obliging manner; presented him with 200 talents, and questioned him much about the affairs of Greece.

Themistocles, that he might be able to converse more freely with Artaxerxes, applied himself to the study of the Persian language, and soon learned to speak it. In the mean time, the Persian monarch was daily giving him still greater and greater marks of favour, and on all occasions testified a particular esteem for him. He married him to a Persian lady of the highest birth; made him his companion in all his pleasures; and conversed with him with great familiarity. His credit was so high that he was himself amazed at it. It is said, that, being one day at table with his children, and reflecting on the magnificence with which he was treated, he could not refrain from exclaiming, "We had perished, my children, if we had not perished." He fixed his residence at Magnesia, a city of Asia Minor, and continued there for the remaining part of his life. The revenues of three cities were assigned him as a fund of subsistence.

After Cimon had gained over the Persians the victories already mentioned, he returned to Athens, and employed part of the spoils taken from the enemy, in fortifying Pyreus and embellishing the city.

Cimon was no less admired by the Athenians in time of peace, than he had been during the war. Besides erecting various public structures, both for the strength and for the ornament of the city, he

planted the academy with groves ; brought water into it, and laid it out in delightful walks. He likewise planted plane trees round the forum. He applied his riches to the noblest of purposes. He ordered his delightful gardens to be at all times open to his fellow-citizens. He kept a very plentiful but plain table, to which all persons, rich and poor, citizens and strangers, were made welcome ; and he assisted with his wealth, not only his particular friends, but the greater part of the Athenians. As he walked through the streets of Athens, the servants that attended him had orders to put money privately into the hands of all the poor citizens who came in their way : and to give clothes to such as seemed to stand in need of them. But all this was done by Cimon without the smallest ostentation ; and without any intention of courting the favour of the people ; for, in point of politics, he was inviolably attached to the party of the nobility.

Being chosen to conduct another expedition against the Persians, he expelled them from the Thracian Chersonesus, and laid siege to Thasus, whose inhabitants had revolted against the Athenians. This siege is remarkable for its having continued three years ; and for the obstinate resistance of the besieged, whereby they exposed themselves to the severest misfortunes of war. It was declared capital for any person to talk of surrendering ; and the women seconded the efforts of the men, even cutting off their hair to make ropes. The city accordingly stood out till famine had carried off most of its inhabitants.

Cimon next subdued all the country opposite to Thrace, as far as Macedonia, of which kingdom, too, he was on the point of attempting the conquest.

Under these favourable circumstances the number of inhabitants in Attica appears to have been greatly increased. For notwithstanding a great loss of men in the course of the war, they sent out large colonies, to Eione on the river Strymon, to Amphipolis in Macedonia, and to the island of Sciros.

Artaxerxes hearing of these important successes of Cimon, and of the increase thence derived to the Athenian power, proposed to Themistocles to take the command of a powerful army, which he had resolved to send against Attica. Such a proposal threw that illustrious exile into the greatest perplexity. Agitated on the one hand by the strong affection still retained by him for his native country, and the thoughts of the dishonour he should draw on himself by bearing arms against it; and on the other hand, by the powerful sentiments of gratitude entertained by him towards a prince who had loaded him with the highest favours; he perceived that death alone could deliver him from his distressful situation. He resolved therefore to sacrifice his life to his duty to his country, and to his gratitude to Artaxerxes. Assembling his friends, he
466. bade them a moving farewell; swallowed a draught of bull's blood, and died at the age of sixty-five years. Artaxerxes was struck with admiration at this instance of magnanimity, and highly regretted his dying so prematurely. But according to Thucydides, he did not die by poison, but by a natural disease.

Themistocles possessed great magnanimity, invincible courage, and an insatiable desire of glory. He enjoyed wonderful power of memory, uncommon penetration and sagacity, and a disposition singularly active, indefatigable, and persevering. We have seen, that it was the most extreme necessity which forced him to take refuge with the enemies of his country, on finding himself persecuted in the most rigorous manner, by a jealous and ungrateful people, whom he knew by experience to be capable of the greatest cruelty to those who had rendered them the most signal services. Next to Miltiades, whose fate was recent in his memory, he was the principal author of their safety. He gained the confidence and affection of the allies, by his mild and condescending behaviour, and by his insinuating address. By his prudence he extinguished that spirit of dis-

cord which prevailed among the Greeks at the time of the Persian invasion, the subsistence whereof might, on that occasion, have proved fatal to them; and he united them against their common enemy. He convinced his countrymen, that their naval strength was their greatest safety, and could alone procure them a superiority over the other Greeks; and to him principally the Athenians owed their skill in naval affairs. He was particularly distinguished by an acute discernment, and an accurate foresight with respect to future events. Stratagem, indeed, and cunning, were much employed by him: but in that respect he acted from a principle which, though perhaps wrong, was universally adopted by his countrymen, namely, That every thing which contributed to the advantage or glory of the commonwealth was lawful and laudable.

About this time, the most violent earthquake ever felt before in Greece happened in Laconia. Not only were most of the houses thrown down by it, but the earth opened and swallowed up several spots of ground in that neighbourhood. The Helots, taking advantage of this calamity, attempted to assert their liberty; and, joining the Messenians, made war on the neighbouring cities. The Lacedemonians were reduced to the necessity of begging assistance of the Athenians. Cimon, thinking it ungenerous to take advantage of the misfortunes of a rival city, persuaded the Athenians to assist them; and marching himself into Laconia, at the head of 4000 men, he dispersed the Helots.

This is the proper place* to fix a celebrated
467. epoch.—It was in the seventh year of the reign of Artaxerxes, that the Israelite Esdras, that monarch's cup-bearer, obtained permission of his royal master to return to Jerusalem, to

* A solemn contest between the tragic poets first instituted at Athens. On this occasion Sophocles, only twenty-eight years old, was preferred to Eschylus, though then in the zenith of his fame.

re-establish the Jewish religion, and to live according to the law. Thirteen years after, and in the twentieth year of the reign of Artaxerxes, Nehemiah, another of his cup-bearers, obtained of that prince a decree, permitting the Jews to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem.

About this time Herodotus began to write his history. It is remarkable, that the time of Esdras, the last writer of sacred history, and by whom the several books of that history were ranged in their present order, coincides with that of the first writer of profane history. The sacred writings, reckoning only from the time of Abraham, had then existed for the space of fifteen centuries.

To return to Athens. The celebrated Pericles had lately made his appearance in public business, and had already acquired great influence in the administration. Animated with a more ardent desire of glory than Cimon, he was become jealous of the reputation of that illustrious Athenian; who, by his services to the state, and his liberality to his fellow-citizens, had gained their highest esteem. Pericles therefore resolved to oppose him. Cimon was connected with the noblest families of Athens. Pericles, on the other hand, in imitation of the political conduct of Themistocles, embraced the party of the people; and omitted nothing to attract the attention and the favour of the crowd. It must be confessed, that his extraordinary parts corresponded perfectly with his soaring ambition. He possessed uncommon elevation of sentiment, and a striking dignity of manner and deportment. He had received the most important part of his education under the celebrated philosopher Anaxagoras; from whom, besides natural philosophy, he had learned a chaste and lofty style. Pericles had likewise studied with much care the art of government among his countrymen; and his singular penetration quickly enabled him to manage their passions and their prejudices to the best advantage. His quality of sena-

tor gave him an opportunity of displaying to the greatest advantage his powers of oratory, which he possessed in a supreme degree. His natural elocution was enforced by all the graces of a fine voice, and very captivating exterior accomplishments, in-somuch that he in a manner charmed the imaginations of his audience, and managed them as he pleased. The boldness, too, and the impetuosity with which he spoke, so astonished his hearers, that they fancied a resemblance between his declamation and the thunder of Jupiter. This procured him the appellation of Olympian. But finding it necessary, in order completely to gain over the multitude to his side, to rival Cimon in liberality, his first care was to insinuate himself into that branch of the administration which regarded the management of the public funds. It is apparent, that in this employment he by no means proposed to act on the rigid principles of Aristides. He first obtained the conquered territories to be divided among the citizens; and then he procured a certain proportion of the public money to be paid to each of them as a gratuity for their attending the popular assemblies; a policy that corrupted the Athenians, and accustomed that sober frugal people to luxury and idleness.

By lavishing the public money in the most profuse and ostentatious manner, Pericles succeeded in seducing the people to his side. In the prosecution of this plan, he received no opposition from his rival Cimon. That great man being of a mild, candid, and peaceable disposition, and of sentiments too elevated for little political intrigues, enjoyed in quiet the fruits of his former success, and placed his chief pleasure in sharing his wealth with his fellow-citizens. Pericles therefore made hasty advances towards the object of his ambition.

The Helots having about this time formed a new confederacy, made themselves masters of Ithome. The Lacedemonians by a fresh embassy begged as-

sistance of the Athenians; but, in consequence of a sudden change of opinion, they very abruptly dismissed the Athenian troops that had been sent to their assistance. This caprice greatly disgusted the Athenians. Cimon having warmly supported the demand of the Lacedemonians, and displayed much zeal in their favour, Pericles and Ephialtes availed themselves of that circumstance privately to prepossess the people against him, and to render him suspected. Cimon was destined, like most of the great men of this republic, to have his services rewarded with the punishment of ostracism. He was banished for ten years.

Pericles took advantage of the absence of Cimon, and of his own credit with the people, to make innovations in the established form of government. He deprived the areopagus of the power of judging in the most important questions that had formerly belonged to their jurisdiction; he rendered the other courts of justice subservient to his pleasure; and he became so absolute in Athens, that under this republican government he possessed a power almost despotic.

The misunderstanding which at this time took place between the Spartans and Athenians, was the beginning of the mutual animosity that constantly afterwards subsisted between those two states, and brought to view the spirit of rivalry, with which they had long been secretly animated against one another. The spirit of discord broke out much about the same time among the other states of Greece, and set them all in arms. As it is unnecessary, and would be inconsistent with our plan, to take notice of the particulars of all the petty wars that were the consequence of these disputes, we shall content ourselves with the most cursory mention of them. We do this the more willingly, because a particular detail of the misery and slaughter of which they were productive would shock the humanity of most readers, without conveying any precise or distinct ideas to

those who take pleasure in the study of military operations.

The inhabitants of Megara had formed a spirited resolution to render themselves independent of the Argives; but being totally defeated in an engagement by their oppressors, their city was besieged, and, in spite of the most obstinate resistance, was taken and razed to the ground.

The Helots, after defending themselves in Ithome for ten years against the whole Spartan power, were at last obliged to surrender; and being expelled the Peloponnesus, settled at Naupactus.

The Megarians, by renouncing their connexion with the Spartans, and siding with the Athenians, excited the jealousy of the Corinthians, who on that account fought two battles with the Athenians, in which each party was conqueror in its turn.

The inhabitants of Egina, actuated by the same motives of jealousy, likewise declared war against the Athenians, but were defeated in a sea-engagement by Leocrates, who blockaded their town. The Corinthians having laid waste the territory of Megara, were totally routed by the Athenians, who had come to the relief of that country.

A war likewise breaking out between the Dorians and Phoceans, the former, supported by the Spartans, remained the conquerors.

About the same time a sharp engagement happened between the Spartans and Athenians in the neighbourhood of Tanagra in Bœotia. Cimon, who was then in banishment, came to the field of battle, and begged permission of his countrymen to share with them in the danger of the engagement. But this they refused him, on pretence of suspecting his intentions. He exhorted, however, those of his tribe who were present, and lay under the same suspicion of favouring the enemy, to give proofs of their loyalty and fidelity. They obeyed his injunctions so effectually, that everyone of them fell, fighting bravely, and the Athenians lost the battle. Two months

after, the Athenians had their revenge for this defeat. Under the command of Myronidas, one of the best generals of Greece, they totally vanquished the Spartans, destroyed Tanagra, and laid waste Bœotia.

Egina having in the mean time capitulated, had its walls razed to the foundation. About the same time, the Athenian commander Tolmedes surprised Giltheim, a sea port town of Laconia, burnt the Lacedemonian fleet, and defeated the inhabitants of Sicyon in battle.

While the states of Greece were in this manner employed in the mutual destruction of each other, the Athenians, by the instigation of Inarus king of Lybia, undertook an expedition into Egypt, which had lately revolted against the Persian power. On their junction with the king of Lybia, they gave battle to the Persians, put them to flight, and got possession of a part of Memphis. Next year, however, the scene was greatly altered; for after several fruitless assaults, they were at last obliged to raise the siege of that city on the approach of the enemy, and to retire to Biblis, an island in the Nile. In this place they withstood an eight months' siege. But their fleet happening to lie at anchor in the Nile, the Persians, by changing the course of the river, rendered the ground round the ships dry, took every one of them, and put the greatest part of their crews to the sword. The army being thus disabled from opposing the enemy any longer, partly perished, and partly dispersed. Such was the event of this unfortunate enterprise, in which the Athenians consumed six years.

During the Egyptian expedition, Pericles, desirous of distinguishing himself in the character of a soldier as well as in that of a statesman, ravaged the coasts of Laconia, and beat the Sicyonians in two engagements.

The Athenians becoming sensible at last of the injustice of their treatment of Cimon, recalled him

after five years banishment. Soon after his return, that great man succeeded in bringing about a peace between his countrymen and the Lacedemonians; and with a view of diverting the Athenians, grown presumptuous by their late good fortune, from making war on their neighbours, he resolved to find occupations for their arms abroad. Departing, 450. therefore, for Cyprus with a fleet of 140 vessels under his command, and being there joined by sixty more from Egypt, he attacked Artabazus the admiral of Artaxerxes; and took 100 of his ships. He next made a descent upon Cilicia; and totally defeated Megabazus, another officer of that prince. He then returned to Cyprus to form the siege of Citium. In the course of this siege, Cimon fell sick.

Perceiving his end approaching, he beseeched 499. his men to keep his death a secret. They followed his advice, and, proceeding with their operations, obtained a signal victory, in which they took 100 of the enemy's ships, and then sailed back in triumph to Attica.

Cimon's death was much regretted by the Athenians. Plutarch, among other lofty encomiums, describes him as having been an affectionate son, a faithful friend, a zealous citizen, a most skilful commander, and so extremely liberal, as never to have been equalled in generosity. We must add, that he had a share in all the important exploits of his time, and that he very much increased the naval power of Athens. It appears to have been a principal object with Cimon to keep his countrymen in unremitting action, while at the same time he readily admitted the slightest pretences to excuse their allies from personal service. His motive for this is obvious. The Athenians daily became more warlike, while their allies grew effeminate and unacquainted with the use of arms. When young, he was a great favourite of Aristides, who reclaimed him from his extravagances. In the sequel, Cimon

imitated his friend in his disinterestedness and love of justice*.

The Spartans having forcibly deprived the
447. Phoceans of the superintendency of the temple of Delphos, the Athenians replaced them in it after beating the Bœotians. But in a subsequent engagement the Bœotians, with the assistance of their neighbours, cut the Athenian army in pieces, and killed their general Tolmedes. Megara revolts ; and the Spartans make an irruption into Attica. Pericles, anxious to bring the war to a conclusion, privately corrupted Plistonax king of the Lacedemonians ; and having by that means secured the safety of Attica, sailed against Eubœa, and subdued that island. The states of Greece, weary of such an exhausting war, used their united endeavours to restore peace ; which is at length concluded between the two republics of Athens and Lacedemon, and their respective allies, for the space of thirty years†.

Let us now turn our eyes to the administration of Pericles. To counterbalance his exorbitant power in Athens, the better sort set up in opposition to him Thucydides, the brother-in-law of Cimon, who exerted his utmost endeavours to curb Pericles, and to maintain the balance between the nobility and people. Pericles, on the other hand, to retain the affection of the populace, entertained them with shows and feasts ; took into his pay a great number of them to serve on board of a fleet he was fitting

* A remarkable instance of Cimon's disinterestedness is recorded by Plutarch. A Persian of distinction having incurred the resentment of his king, withdrew with great riches to Athens. Here, to procure Cimon's protection, having offered that illustrious Athenian a magnificent present, Cimon asked him, "whether he desired to have him for his friend or for his mercenary?" "For my friend, unquestionably," answered the Persian. "Then," said Cimon, "retain your present ; for if I be your friend, I may command your money whenever I want it."

† In the year before Christ 444, military tribunes with consular power were created at Rome ; and next year censors were for the first time elected there.

out; and established several colonies in the Chersonesus, both with a view to disburden the city of a great number of superfluous idle people, and likewise to hold the allies in awe. In all these undertakings, he professed to have no other aim than the public good. After the example of Themistocles, he annually augmented their navy with sixty ships, a policy that, by displaying the power and strength of the Athenians, rendered them formidable to their enemies, and respectable among strangers. He divided the lands conquered by the republic, among the old disbanded soldiers.

Pericles, by a judicious distribution of proper rewards, excited a noble spirit of emulation among the professors of the fine arts; and adorned Athens with the master-pieces of the most skilful artists. It must be acknowledged, to the honour of Pericles, that whatever works of Greece, either in architecture, sculpture, or painting, have attracted the admiration of after ages, were the fruits of his government, and of the attention bestowed by him upon the most elegant subjects. For many of those masterpieces we are indebted to Phidias the celebrated statuary, of whom the famous statue of Pallas, so highly valued by the best judges, was a capital work. Pericles replenished the city of Athens with ornaments that attracted the admiration of strangers, and inspired them with a high idea of the Athenian genius and power. Athens assumed a new face. Pomp and magnificence supplied the place of its original simplicity. But the best and most sensible citizens discerned, in this superb display, an approaching corruption of manners. Pericles, according to Cicero, was by these men blamed for having exhausted the public money to fill the city with superfluous decorations.

The allies in the mean time, and the enemies of Pericles, complained loudly of his wantonly lavishing away in those works the funds that ought to remain appropriated for the exigencies of war. Per-

icles answered, that the Athenians were by no means accountable for their conduct in this respect to their allies, who ought to be satisfied with the protection afforded them against the irruptions of the barbarians. He added, that the works at which they were pleased to take umbrage, furnished employment and subsistence to a vast number of citizens.

But this was not all; the orators of the opposite faction attacked him with great acrimony. Thucydides, in particular, whose invectives were sharpened by personal animosity, harangued against him with singular keenness and ability; and the contest between Pericles and him rose to such a height, that it became necessary that the one or the other should be banished the city. Pericles's address prevailed, and brought about the banishment of his rival. Become now sole master in Athens, he disposed of the whole power of the republic at his pleasure, and reigned absolute in its most flourishing days.

Pericles perceiving his authority to be at last firmly established, and that the favour of the people was now less necessary to him, gave another turn to the government, and insensibly circumscribed the power of the democracy. In this undertaking he met with his usual success, by means of his admirable skill in managing the minds of the multitude, and bringing them to the temper he desired, by the force of his eloquence. His conduct, too, was now perfectly irreproachable; and his only aim seemed to be the public advantage. He possessed indeed a noble disinterested soul: for, during the long space that he enjoyed the entire disposal of the public money, his private estate did not appear to have been at all encreased; and excepting the largesses procured by him for the people, and his expences in embellishing the city, his management was guided by the most wise and prudent economy.

The fixed object of Pericles' whole conduct, was

to raise Athens to an unrivalled superiority over the other states of Greece. But though of distinguished personal bravery, he appears on the whole to have been rather averse to war, from the most amiable of all motives, humanity : and when unavoidably engaged in it, he seems to have been careful, from the same motive, never to undertake doubtful or hazardous enterprises, conducting his measures so prudently as hardly ever to venture an engagement without a certainty of success. All his warlike operations were managed with consummate skill ; particularly his successful expedition into the Chersonesus, during which he fortified the Greek cities in that country, and by building a strong wall across the isthmus, secured it against the inroads of the Thracians. He led an expedition as far as the kingdom of Pontus. He re-established, by force of arms, the Phocians in the management of the temple of Delphos, whereof they had been dispossessed by the Lacedemonians. He entirely subdued Eubœa, and rendered the Athenian power every where respectable.

In the dispute between the Samians and Milesians, the Athenians sided with the latter, by the persuasion of Pericles ; who, setting sail for Samos with a fleet of forty ships, there established
441. democracy, and left a garrison in the town.

After his departure, the citizens, who had withdrawn themselves on his approach, having received a re-inforcement from the governor of Samos, entered the town by night, and put all the garrison to the sword. Pericles getting intelligence of this, returned with a greater force than before, defeated the Samian fleet, and blockaded the town. In vain did the Phenicians come to its relief. Pericles, having received an additional reinforcement, battered the walls with such vigour, that he obliged the Samians to capitulate, and to pay the expences of the war. This exploit added greatly to the reputation and glory of Pericles.

The Corcyreans likewise, finding themselves unable to make head against the Corinthians, who had attacked them, implored the assistance of the Athenians. The Corinthians too, on their part, sent deputies to Athens, which for a considerable time kept the public resolutions in suspense. But the Corcyreans so far prevailed at last, as to procure themselves to be received into alliance with the Athenians: who did not, however, choose openly to declare war against the Corinthians, being by no means displeased to see those two powerful maritime states weakening each other by their mutual quarrels.

The Athenians, grown insolent from their success, wantonly attacked every state which they even suspected to be an enemy. They commanded the inhabitants of Potidea not only to demolish the walls of their city on the Pallenus side, but likewise to dismiss the magistrates, whom, as a Corinthian colony, they had received from Corinth. The Corinthians, provoked at this instance of the Athenian injustice, declared war against them, and sent an army into the territory of Potidea. An engagement ensued, in which victory declared for the Athenians. In this battle Alcibiades, as yet a very young man, and his master Socrates, chiefly distinguished themselves. That philosopher was observed to support the fatigues of war with an ease that must have been the consequence of the hardy temperate life to which he had inured himself; and in the action he behaved with a courage that would have done honour to the bravest veteran. On this occasion he procured the prize of valour to be adjudged to his scholar Alcibiades, intending by that means to inspire him with a love of glory.

This advantage of the Athenians did not at all subdue the resistance of the Potideans, who resolved to complain to the Spartans. These readily espoused their quarrel, and secretly prevailed with Perdicas king of Macedon to take arms in their behalf. A battle ensued, in which the Athenians,

having broken the main body of that prince's army, obtained the victory, and laid siege to Potidea. The Corinthians having likewise complained of Sparta, obtained, like all those who had been injured by the Athenians, a very favourable hearing from the Lacedemonians, who at last declared the peace to be infringed on the part of the Athenians, and proclaimed war against them.

It is certain that the overgrown power of the Athenians; the presumption inspired by the victories over the Persians, of which they attributed the whole honour to themselves; their affectation of superiority over the Spartans: and their overbearing behaviour to their allies, by assuming to themselves an exclusive power of judging in every matter that concerned the whole confederacy; had at this time offended all their neighbours. The Lacedemonians, therefore, and the other states of Greece, thought it now highly necessary to humble their pride; and for that purpose made use of every pretext to justify an open declaration of war.

During their hostile preparations, the Lacedemonians endeavoured to cover their resolutions with the appearance of equity. Among other old subjects of dispute revived by them, they required the Athenians to restore liberty to the cities over which they had assumed an authority; and particularly to abrogate a law made by them against the inhabitants of Megara. Pericles answered their complaints with great strength of argument. He demonstrated, that these were by no means sufficient grounds for a war, and at the same time convinced the Athenians, that they had no reason to be alarmed at the threats of the Lacedemonians, being in a much better situation to support a war than they.

At this time the enemies of Pericles, not daring openly to attack himself, vented their resentment against his friends, and framed accusations against Phidias, Aspasia, and Anaxagoras. The first was accused of having embezzled large sums of money destined for the construction of his statue of Mi-

nerva. But this assertion his accusers were unable to make good. Then he was accused of having engraved representations both of Pericles and of himself, upon the part of the shield of that goddess which exhibited the battle of the Amazons ; a piece of vanity surely very pardonable. For no greater crime, however, was Phidias condemned to an imprisonment, in which he is said to have ended his days. But some authors believe that he was only banished.

The second, Aspasia, was accused of impiety and a disorderly life. This lady was renowned for her wit, her beauty, her eloquence, and her extraordinary political abilities. The most distinguished men at Athens took pleasure in listening to her conversation. Socrates himself used to say that of her he learned rhetoric. Pericles, in particular, was extremely fond of Aspasia ; insomuch, that he was even believed to have married her. He therefore charged himself with the care of her defence ; and pled her cause with such force of argument, and so pathetically, that the judges, affected with his tears, pronounced her innocent.

The last, Anaxagoras, was accused of maintaining doctrines contrary to the established religion ; because he taught and pretended to account for the motion of the heavens ; and affirmed that the regular and beautiful order visible in the disposition of the universe, must be the work of one Supreme Being, possessed of perfect intelligence. That philosopher, sensible how difficult it is to combat the superstitious prejudices of a bigotted populace, thought it his wisest course to secure himself by flight.

It was at present the interest of Pericles to engage the Athenians in a war ; for they had already passed a law obliging him to render an account of the public money. To avoid the storm that threatened him, he indulged the Athenians in their inclination for war, which, by employing them about a business more urgent, and more directly interesting, might not only divert them from prying minutely into his preceding management of the public funds, but

might likewise give him additional importance in the state, by obliging them, in the conduct of the war, to have frequent recourse to his counsel and direction.

The people in the mean time held an assembly to deliberate on the demands of the Lacedemonians. Pericles, on this occasion, justified the measures of the Athenians with admirable eloquence. He demonstrated the demands of the Lacedemonians to be no other than affected pretences, under which they hoped to conceal their jealousy, the real motive of their conduct, as they could not behold, without an envious eye, the Athenians possessed of the superiority in Greece; that it would be disgraceful in the Athenians to have their measures controuled by such enemies; and that the sword was the shortest and the only method to settle the controversy. Still farther to encourage the Athenians to undertake this war, he gave them a flattering description of their army, their navy, and their funds. This description made a stronger impression, and animated them the more, because they knew certainly that it was just. For there were at that time in the public treasury 9600 talents; the contributions of their allies amounted to 460 more; and they had an army of 30,000 men, and a fleet of 300 galleys. Pericles, after giving his opinion for the war, proceeded next to deliver his sentiments with respect to the conduct of it. He advised the Athenians never to hazard a general battle, especially far from home; to make the defence of the city their principal object; and by all means to preserve their superiority at sea. He concluded with laying before them the plan of operations for the first campaign.



C H A P. III.

Containing the history of the Peloponnesian war.

THE war that now ensued among the Greeks is known in history by the name of the Peloponne-

sian war. It was of twenty-seven years' duration ; and was attended with an immense expence, and an incredible effusion of blood. In the course of it, each party experienced the most cruel reverses of fortune ; and displayed a courage that might have procured them, if united, the greatest advantages over their common enemies. Thucydides writes the history of the first twenty-one years of this war, and Xenophon continues it.

It has already been observed, that the jealousy conceived by the other states of Greece, of the exorbitant power of the Athenians, was the more immediate occasion of this war. All the states within the Peloponnesus, except the Argives alone, joined the Lacedemonians, who were further supported by the Megarians, Locrians, Bœotians, and some others. The Athenians, on the other hand, were supported by the inhabitants of Chios and Lesbos, by the city of Platea, and all their tributary countries, such as Ionia, the Hellespont, the cities of Thrace, &c.

Hostilities were begun by the Thebans, who 431. attacked Platea, a city of Bœotia, in alliance, as we have just mentioned, with Athens. All Greece was immediately in motion. The Lacedemonians march towards the isthmus of Corinth, a narrow neck of land about six miles broad, which joins the Peloponnesus to the country properly called Greece. Archidamus, one of the Spartan kings, before advancing farther, dispatches an ambassador to the Athenians, to require of them to relinquish their pretensions. But the Athenians command the messenger to retire, without deigning even to give him an audience. The Lacedemonians thereupon advance towards Attica with an army of 60,000 men, while that of the Athenians amounted to no more than 18,000 ; but, to make up the odds, the latter had a fleet of 300 galleys. On the approach of the Lacedemonian army, the inhabitants of the country abandoned their habitations, and, carrying away every thing they could, took refuge in Athens.

The plan of operations pursued at this time by the Athenians, on the suggestion of Pericles, was, to weary out the enemy, by protracting the war. The Lacedemonians entering Attica, laid siege to Enoe. But being obliged, after a few fruitless assaults, to relinquish that attempt, they advanced still nearer to Athens, and encamped within half a league of the city. Pericles, unwilling, while so much inferior in point of numbers, to hazard the fate of the republic in a general battle, found it difficult to prevent the Athenians, exasperated at the sight of the ravages committed on their country, from sallying forth upon the enemy. But by means of his admirable art in managing the multitude, he kept both the senate and the people from assembling to deliberate, though at the expence of numberless insults from his enemies; in spite of which he persisted in his plan, unmoved either by threats or intreaties. In the mean time he dispatched a fleet of 100 ships to ravage the coasts of the Peloponnesus; which being joined by that of the allies, made a descent upon Laconia, and laid waste the territory of Sparta. The Lacedemonians finding all their endeavours to draw the Athenians out of their city ineffectual, and receiving intelligence of the ravages committed in Laconia by the Athenian fleet, found themselves under the necessity of withdrawing from Attica.

On the setting out of the expedition against the coast of Laconia, an extraordinary eclipse of the sun happened just as Pericles was going on board of his galley. Pericles perceiving the Athenians to be terrified at this phenomenon, which they considered as an unlucky presage, threw his cloak over the face of the pilot, and asked him if he saw? The pilot having answered in the negative, Pericles explained to the bystanders, that the body of the moon being in like manner interposed at that instant between their sight and the sun, prevented them from seeing his light.

When the Lacedemonians retired out of Attica,

the Athenians appropriated 100 talents of money, and 100 of their best ships, for the more immediate defence of their country in case of a fresh invasion, prohibiting any person, under pain of death, from proposing a different application of those resources. They then expelled from the island of Egina its present inhabitants, whom they regarded as the principal cause of the war; and they divided that island by lot among the citizens of Athens. They made an alliance with the kings of Macedon and Thrace; subdued the island of Cephalonia: laid waste the territory of Megara; and took the harbour of Niseum. This concluded the first campaign.

The Athenians next celebrated funeral rites to the memory of those who had fallen since the beginning of the war. For this purpose, a large tent was constructed, wherein they exposed the bones of the slain, which were covered with flowers and perfumes thrown on them by those that went to see them. Then the bones were carried with much pomp and solemnity to a suburb of the city called Ceramicus, where they were deposited in a monument destined to be the tomb of those who fell in war. And lastly, one of the citizens pronounced a funeral oration in their praise; a charge which on this occasion was undertaken by Pericles himself. Though always superlatively eloquent, he at this time seemed to out-do himself; and in pronouncing the eulogium of those who were no more, he omitted no argument that might inflame the courage of those who remained. Thucydides has preserved this famous oration, of which the beautiful expressions and lofty sentiments are equally admired*.

The army of the Lacedemonians, and their allies, returned into Attica, and laid every thing waste with fire and sword. But the plague, which then raged among the Athenians, was still more pernicious to them, depriving them of their best citizens

* Meton and Euctemon begin the nineteen years' cycle of the moon on the 15th of July in the year 432 before Christ.

and bravest soldiers ; and Athens exhibited nothing but a melancholy scene of sickness and death.

From remotest antiquity down to the present times, Egypt has been noted as the unlucky region where this fatal scourge of the human race has been generated : and the plague which now desolated the city of Athens is particularly mentioned as having proceeded from the banks of the Nile. Thucydides, who was himself seized by this plague, has given a description of it. Some authors write, that Hippocrates, the famous father of the healing art, who was a native of Cos, having been sent for by the Athenians, employed every resource of physic to stop the infection. As the same plague was then raging in Persia, where Greek physicians were in high estimation, Artaxerxes hoped to prevail on Hippocrates, by the most splendid offers, to come to his court. But all his promises were ineffectual. For that celebrated physician, possessing a soul that looked on gold with contempt, answered the Persian monarch, That his skill and care were devoted to the relief of his fellow-citizens, not of the enemies of Greece ; and without regarding the resentment denounced against him and his country by that prince, continued in Athens till the plague had entirely ceased. The Athenians, as a reward for his useful care, presented him with the freedom of their city, assigned him a handsome maintenance for life in the Prytaneum, and gave him a crown of gold, of the value of about L.200 Sterling.

Pericles, in the mean time, sent out a detachment of 4000 foot and 300 horse, on board a fleet of 100 galleys, with orders to ravage the Peloponnesus. This diversion obliged the Peloponnesians to return home to the defence of their own country. But the Athenians, distressed by the waste committed on their territories by the enemy, murmured bitterly at the conduct of Pericles, and sent proposals of peace to Sparta. The Lacedemonians having refused to hearken to any accommodation, the com-

plaints were renewed against Pericles, who at last assembled the people, and endeavoured to justify his measures. But their present sufferings outweighed his eloquence ; and they not only deprived him of all power, but likewise imposed on him a heavy fine.

Nor were the distresses of that great man confined to his public station alone. They were heightened by others of a domestic nature. His own son Xantippus, a young man of an expensive turn, unable to bear the strict economy of his father, was the first to complain of his conduct ; as if it were not the duty of a son to submit with patience to the measures of his father, even although he should carry his frugality to an extreme. Pericles had the misfortune to lose this son, with several others of his relations and friends, by the plague. But amidst all his afflictions, his fortitude never forsook him.

The Athenians beginning to be hardened by their sufferings, repent of their severe treatment of Pericles ; and finding by experience, that they had at present no other person capable of directing their affairs, they intreat him once more to step forth and undertake the administration.*

Potidea, in the mean time, unable any longer to support the miseries of famine, which had produced the most dreadful calamities among its inhabitants, is obliged to surrender. Its few remaining citizens were forced to abandon it for ever ; and the place was re-peopled with Athenians.

The Peloponnesians about this time invested Platea, a city in alliance with Athens. This siege is not only remarkable for the obstinate resistance of the besieged, but for being the first recorded in history which was conducted with any sort of regularity. Both parties here made use of mounds of earth, the one to attack, the other to defend. The

* About this time the Athenians, to repair the devastations occasioned by the plague, passed a law, allowing all the male citizens to marry each two wives. Socrates is said to have been the first who took the benefit of this law.

Peloponnesians burnt a part of the town, by means of bundles of sticks, to which they set fire. On the other hand, the besieged neglected no expedient to frustrate the various attempts of the enemy. But the most surprising circumstance of all is, that so small a place as Platea, which contained no more than 400 inhabitants, and 80 Athenians, was capable of making so vigorous a resistance against a powerful army. The enemy at last changed the siege into a blockade, and surrounded the town with two ditches. The Bœotians were left to guard these entrenchments, and the bulk of the army marched away.

About the same time the Athenians were beaten in an engagement by the Chalcidians, a people of Thrace, and pursued to the very gates of Athens. But their victory at Naupactus made amends for that disaster. Phormion attacked, near that place, a Peloponnesian fleet of forty-six vessels, took twelve of them, put the rest to flight, and entered Athens in triumph. Brasidas and Cnemus, two Spartan officers, having sailed against Salamis with a fleet of forty vessels, made a descent upon that island, and laid it waste.

This year was rendered remarkable by the 429. death of Pericles. Plutarch says he died of the plague. Other authors write, that he was worn out by a languishing consumption. It is reported of him, that a little while before his death, on hearing some of his friends extolling his victories (for he had erected no fewer than nine trophies) he told them, that they overlooked a more glorious circumstance still, namely, that he had never, on any private personal account, given cause to a single fellow-citizen to wear mourning. His death was universally regretted by the Athenians. He was unquestionably one of the greatest men that Athens ever produced; having displayed on all occasions uncommon magnanimity, and shown himself perfectly qualified for every office that he undertook. The absolute power that he enjoyed in this republic for the space of forty years was wholly attained

by his admirable eloquence, which was so powerful as to triumph even over the prejudices and passions of his opposers, and to bring them over to his views,—the perfection of that admirable talent. Athens flourished while Pericles held the helm of government.

Although no oration of his own composing has reached to our times, yet, from the effects of his eloquence, and what is reported of it by historians, he may be justly placed at the head of the Grecian orators. By Cicero's account, it was he that introduced into Athens a taste for perfect eloquence. He had learned of Anaxagoras all the principles of persuasion ; and his own genius directed him to employ those principles to the greatest advantage. On account of the force and vehemence of his declamation, he was said to thunder and lighten ; and to denote the beauty of his language, and his strength of argument, the goddess of persuasion, with all her graces, was said to dwell on his lips.

It was this power of eloquence that enabled him boldly to oppose the unreasonable desires of the Athenians ; preserved to him, for the space forty years, an absolute power among that most fickle and capricious people ; and procured him such vast influence over their minds, that he changed even their system of government at his pleasure, and erected Attica into a kind of monarchy, of which his own extraordinary merit rendered him in effect the king.

But he used this extensive authority with such lenity and moderation, and conducted himself with such extreme caution and reserve, as to prevent his administration from wearing the appearance of tyranny. His talents for war were universally acknowledged ; but it was observable, that he cautiously avoided undertaking any expedition till he was almost sure of success. He depended more on stratagem than on desperate courage. His application of the large revenues of the state prove him to have been a man of the most refined taste, a

lover of real glory, and far above any little sordid views of self-interest. He employed them in what he reckoned the good of the commonwealth, in promoting the liberal arts, and in decorating and ornamenting the city. The Athenians became daily more and more sensible of the great loss they had sustained by his death ; for his successors in the government, at the same time that they wanted his experience, were much inferior to him in point of natural abilities, and appeared to be more concerned about their private interests than the good of the commonwealth.*

* I thus dismiss with regret the character of this most illustrious Greek, the nature of my work having obliged me to speak of him much more concisely than his extraordinary merit appears to me to deserve. Every circumstance indeed of his life is deeply interesting, and claims the most minute and attentive investigation. For I am inclined to regard him as the most accomplished character that occurs in the history of all antiquity.

As a statesman, his conduct affords a most instructive pattern to all who apply to public business. His life was totally exempted from the smallest tincture of dissipation. He studied with unremitting assiduity the affairs of the commonwealth, and understood every branch of them with the utmost precision. He managed the revenues with irreproachable disinterestedness so far as respected his private fortune : and his public expenditure, for which he has been so harshly censured by some rigid historians, furnishes incontrovertible proof of elevated sentiments, and an elegant taste. His decorations of the city displayed all that was beautiful and sublime in sculpture and in architecture ; and by the encouragement bestowed by him on men of distinguished genius, he rendered Athens the residence of all the fine arts. At the same time too, that, as an admirer of the drama, I entertain much gratitude to Pericles as its chief patron, I cannot severely blame, even in a political light, his partiality for theatrical representations. To divert his restless countrymen from disturbing his administration by their cabals, he found it necessary to furnish them with other amusements. For this he cannot be blamed : and if so, with what amusement could he have indulged them, at once so inoffensive, so elegant, so instructive ?

It must however be admitted, that the state of the times, and the unreasonable desires of the Athenian mob ; or, in other words, that political necessity, sometimes forced Pericles to adopt measures which his own superior good sense must have condemned, and which, without such compulsion, he never would have adopted. But it is truly admirable, that on such occasions, his

Anaxagoras the philosopher died the same year, and before his scholar, in extreme poverty. It is reported, that when Pericles was informed of his situation, and of the resolution he had formed of starving himself to death, he went to see him, with an intention to dissuade him from his design. But Anaxagoras answered him in these words; "Those who need the light of a lamp take care to feed it with oil." Insinuating, that though Pericles had taken care of his fortune, while he had occasion for his instruction, yet when that purpose was served, he had suffered him to languish in poverty.

The Peloponnesians ravage Attica for the third time.—All the inhabitants of Lesbos, those of Methymne alone excepted, resolve to break their alliance with Athens. The Athenians, sensible how great a loss to their affairs the defection of this island must be, sent out a fleet of forty galleys to attack that of the Mitylenians, who finding themselves repulsed, proposed terms of accommodation, which were listened to by the Athenians. A suspension of hostilities being agreed on, the Mitylenians dispatched ambassadors both to Athens and to Lacedemon at the same time. The ambassadors were told by the Lacedemonians, that they should be fully heard at the approaching Olympic games, where the other allies would have an opportunity of assisting at the conference. Thucydides has transmitted to us the import of what was urged by those ambassadors; from which we see, that they admitted the treaty anciently concluded between the Lesbians and Athenians, and assigned the ambition of the latter, not their present misfortunes, as the reason that induced them now to relinquish that treaty. The allies were satisfied with their reasons, and admitted them into their confederacy.

It was likewise resolved in this assembly to pro-comprehensive genius enabled him to make such measures the least pernicious, and the most subservient to public utility that their nature could possibly admit.

secute the war more vigorously than ever against the Athenians; who, receiving information of the great preparations making against them, fitted out a fleet of 100 sail, appeared unexpectedly off the promontory of the isthmus of Corinth, and made a descent upon the Peloponnesus, while another fleet protected the coasts of Attica. Never had they raised so formidable an armament before; and it so overawed the Lacedemonians, that they hurried back to the defence of their own country. The Athenians, in the mean time, pushed on the siege of Mitylene, whither they sent a detachment of a 1000 soldiers, and the town was blocked up both by sea and land. The inhabitants receiving no assistance from the Lacedemonians, and being pressed by famine, were obliged to surrender at discretion. The authors of the revolt, to the number of more than 1000, were conveyed to Athens, and there put to death. Orders were at the same time issued to massacre the rest of the inhabitants, by way of example. But the people, shocked at such horrible cruelty, caused the decree to be revoked, and dispatched counter-orders; which luckily arrived at the instant they were proceeding to put the first in execution. Then the town was dismantled, and the whole territory of the island, except Methymne alone, was divided by lot among the inhabitants of Athens.

Let us now look back to the siege of Platea. The besieged having lost all hope of succour, resolved to attempt to make their escape out of the town; which about one half of them effected by a very daring stratagem, suggested and executed by despair. The remaining half, dismayed at the dangers attending the attempt, continued in the town. But finding themselves unable to defend it any longer, they were at last obliged to surrender at discretion. Eight Spartans were sent to decide their fate. The miserable Plateans pled in vain, that they had been forced, through necessity, to

side with the Athenians, in order to obtain their protection against the Thebans, by whom they were grievously oppressed. They were all murdered in cold blood; their wives were carried into slavery; and their town was razed to the ground. Such was the melancholy fate of the Plateans, who, during the Persian war, had rendered the most important services to Greece.

About this time, a dissension between the magistrates and common people of Corcyra produced a shocking massacre in that place. The people had requested assistance of the Athenians; and the magistrates desired to retain them in the interests of Sparta. But the former, on seeing sixty Athenian ships arrive to their support, from being insolent, became furious, and falling upon the magistrates and their adherents, nothing was to be seen but an universal slaughter; the inhabitants murdering one another even in the houses and temples.

The plague breaks out afresh at Athens, and carries off multitudes. The Lacedemonians
426. invade Attica, and the Athenians make a descent on the Peloponnesus. Each campaign was opened in that manner. The war proceeds more vigorously than ever. Demosthenes, the Athenian general, being sent with thirty ships to make a descent on Ætolia, was engaged by the Ætolians, and defeated. In returning home, however, he threw a reinforcement into Naupactus, and defeated the Ambraciotæ. Then joining his fleet with that destined against the Peloponnesus, he took Pylus, a small town of Messenia, and there fortified himself. The Lacedemonians, desirous to recover this place, besieged it by sea and land, and it became the scene of extraordinary feats of bravery. But the Lacedemonians having thrown a detachment of 400 of their best troops into the little island of Sphacteria, the Athenians surrounded the island, and cut off all supplies of provisions. The Lacedemonians, anxious to save those troops, saw

themselves reduced to the necessity of sending ambassadors to Athens with proposals of peace.

The ambassadors frankly owned the extreme necessity that had obliged the Lacedemonians to submit to so humiliating a step, put the Athenians in mind of the uncertain fate of arms, and exhorted them to embrace this opportunity of restoring tranquillity to Greece. But the Athenians grown presumptuous by their good fortune, as well as by the flattering orations of their favourite demagogue Cleon, required, as a preliminary condition, that the troops confined in the island should lay down their arms, and be conducted to Athens, upon the promise of the Athenians to set them at liberty as soon as the Lacedemonians had delivered up the places conquered by them from the Athenians. The Lacedemonians refusing to comply with this condition, both parties prepared themselves for war.

The Athenians, in the mean time, were very vigilant to prevent any provisions from passing into the island of Sphacteria. The Lacedemonians, on the other hand, engaged the whole country round to contribute their utmost efforts to relieve the besieged troops, and promised to set free all the slaves who should succeed in carrying them provisions; which many did, at the extreme hazard of their lives. In the mean time, the Athenians in Pylus began on their part to be straitened for provisions. Cleon persuaded the people, that the slowness of the siege was owing to the inactivity of their commanders; and maintained, that a little vigour must very soon reduce the island, which he offered to accomplish himself. Having been accordingly sent thither, and having joined Demosthenes, they landed together in Sphacteria, and beat the enemy to the extremity of the island. The Lacedemonians, however, took possession of a fortification, and defended, with the most desperate courage, the only passage by which they could be attacked. But the general of the Messenians having discovered a diffi-

cult pass that led to the fortification, marched that way, and appearing unexpectedly on the rear of the Lacedemonians, called aloud to them to lay down their arms. The Lacedemonians, exhausted with heat and fatigue, obeyed the summons, by laying their shields on the ground; and, after a short conference, they surrendered at discretion. The Athenians, after erecting a trophy, reimbarked on board of their fleet. This siege continued sixty-two days. Cleon is said to have caused 128 of those unhappy Spartans to be murdered. The rest were conveyed to Athens, and thrown into prison till peace should take place; the Athenians threatening at the same time to put them all to death, if the Lacedemonians made any more incursions into their country.

Upon the death of Artaxerxes king of Persia, his son Xerxes mounted the throne in his stead. But he had hardly enjoyed his dignity forty-five days, when he was assassinated by a son of one of the concubines of Artaxerxes, named Sogdianus, who succeeded him in the kingdom. The bloody disposition of Sogdianus soon rendered him the terror of the nation; which revolted against him, put him to death, and raised his brother Ochus to the throne. Ochus, finding himself secure in the kingdom, instead of the name of Ochus, assumed that of Darius; but historians, to distinguish him from other kings of Persia of that name, superadded the title of Nothus, signifying bastard. This prince committed the whole power of the state to three eunuchs. His reign was disturbed with continual troubles. The Egyptians, in particular, revolted, and expelled the Persians from their country.

Nicias, being chosen one of the Athenian commanders, reduced the islands of Cythera and Thyrea, and exterminated all the Eginetæ who had taken refuge there. These Eginetæ were the professed and inveterate enemies of the Athenians.

The war of Sicily begins. It was occasioned by

a dispute between the cities of Syracuse and Leontium; the latter of which, having procured the support of the Athenians, prevailed with them to send out a fleet of 20 ships to their assistance. But, in the mean time, the Greeks of Sicily growing jealous of the Athenians, whom they suspected of a design to make themselves masters of the island under the pretence of assisting one of the parties, made peace with each other.

The sedition of Megara happened next. The inhabitants of that town, after expelling their magistrates, quarrelled among themselves, one party being for recalling their magistrates, the other for delivering their town into the hands of the Athenians. Brasidas, in the mean time, the best officer the Lacedemonians then had, having come before Megara, its gates are immediately thrown open to him. The exiled magistrates returning soon after, and resuming their authority, condemn to death 100 inhabitants of the opposite faction. Brasidas advances into Thrace, subdues several cities, and lays siege to Amphipolis; a place of much importance to the Athenians, who from thence got the greatest part of their wood. They therefore dispatched Thucydides, the famous historian, to its relief; but the place was taken before his arrival. His countrymen, however, imputed to him the loss of the place, and banished him at the instigation of Cleon. The Athenians having about the same time advanced into Bœotia, under the command of Demosthenes and Hippocrates, were defeated near Delium by the Thebans; who, after their victory, besieged and took that town.

No decisive advantage had been hitherto obtained by either party. The Athenians and Lacedemonians, therefore, agreed on a truce for a year; which Brasidas, who had been successful in all his enterprises, bore with great impatience. Cleon, on the other hand, who had acquired much authority in Athens, by means of his bold and vehement

eloquence, incited his countrymen to resume the war. Being more presumptuous than skilful in military operations, he resolved to attempt the retaking of Amphipolis, hoping to be assisted by a body of troops from Perdiccas king of Macedon. But Brasidas got the start of him, and threw himself into the town. To increase the presumption of Cleon, the Spartan general, who was well acquainted with his character, affected to be afraid to encounter him. But after making the proper dispositions, Brasidas sallied forth unexpectedly, and attacked the left wing of the Athenians, which being the flower of their army, made a vigorous resistance. Brasidas, however, at last broke them, and killed 600 of them, with very little loss on his own side. This attack disconcerted and terrified Cleon, who was killed by a Spartan soldier as he was flying from the battle. Brasidas was of the number of the slain on the side of the Lacedemonians. He was an excellent officer, equally brave and prudent, and deserves to be ranked among the Lacedemonian heroes. It was the mother of this general, who, on hearing the exploits of her son commended, answered, "It is true my son was a brave man, but I doubt not that Sparta has many citizens as brave as he." As for Cleon, he merited no regret, having been no more than an insolent boaster, of a cruel overbearing disposition, and very avaricious.

The Lacedemonians, in the mean time, apprehensive lest the Helots should take advantage of the present bad posture of their affairs, and revolt, used them with the most barbarous perfidy. Having decoyed the bravest of them to Sparta, under pretence of giving them their liberty, they are said to have murdered no fewer than 2000 of them; a striking instance to what excess of barbarity a people that is guided by no other motive than a blind hard-hearted policy will proceed!

The Athenians, since their late disaster, began to

think seriously of peace ; to which the Lacedemonians were likewise well disposed, being desirous to recover from captivity their brave citizens who had been taken at Sphacteria. After mutual conferences, a peace was agreed on for the space of fifty years, between the two republics and their respective allies. This work was greatly forwarded by 421. Nicias, who was as worthy a citizen as he was a skilful general.

The war was nothing less than concluded by this peace. Before the expiry of the first year, discord sprang up afresh between the Athenians and Lacedemonians, both sides breathing nothing but war. Alcibiades, who was now beginning to appear in the public assemblies of the Athenians, was principally active in opposing the means of reconciliation proposed by Nicias.

Alcibiades had been educated by his uncle Pericles, who discovered in him, while very young, extraordinary natural parts, and a singular mixture of good and bad qualities. Socrates, too, entertained the most tender friendship for him, and took delight in instilling into his mind the most valuable branches of every kind of knowledge. That best of philosophers laboured chiefly to inspire his scholar with the purest maxims of morality, to fortify him against the power of the passions, and to preserve him from the dangerous allurements to vice, to which his youth and wealth exposed him. Alcibiades, sensible of the affection of Socrates, and charmed with the graces of his conversation, listened attentively to the lessons of his master ; though his natural inclination for pleasure, and the seduction of his companions, made him frequently forget them.

At his first appearance in public, Alcibiades displayed a daring factious genius, capable of the boldest and most hazardous designs. Though addicted to pleasure, even to debauchery, he was so perfectly master of his passions, that he could accommodate

himself with ease to the humour and way of life of every person with whom he had occasion to converse, however different from his own. He was a rake in Ionia,—temperate and austere in Sparta,—and in Persia he exceeded the natives in luxury and magnificence. Never did any man deserve so well the name of Proteus. Ambition, however, was his ruling passion; and in every dispute he aspired at superiority with the utmost eagerness. He was indeed in all respects entitled to pre-eminence in Athens; for he possessed every qualification requisite in a leading man. His ability in business; his illustrious descent; the beauty of his person, which was calculated to procure him the love and admiration of all who saw him; his immense riches, which he spent with the most ostentatious profusion; the public feasts furnished by him to the people; and the high magnificence in which he lived, dazzled the eyes, and attracted the respect and confidence of his fellow-citizens. When, to all these advantages, are added his admirable eloquence, and his singular knowledge in the art of war, we clearly see that he must soon become the idol of the people. His faults were overlooked; those airs of superiority, which, in this republic, would have been accounted criminal in any other person, were excused in him; and his wild excesses were called by the softer name of youthful frolics.

It has been already observed, that he exhibited the first proofs of his bravery at Potidea. Having been flattered on that occasion with predictions of his soon eclipsing the ablest generals of Greece, he conceived a desire for war; and becoming jealous of the high reputation of Nicias, he exerted his utmost efforts to prevent the peace concluded by that wise Athenian, between his countrymen and the Lacedemonians, from taking effect. He laboured underhand to detach the Argives from the Spartan interest, and to exasperate the Athenians against the Spartans, on account of the latter having delivered

up the fort of Panactus in a ruinous condition, and not fortified as it ought to have been in terms of the treaty. He endeavoured at the same time to render Nicias suspected.

While these intrigues were going on, ambassadors from Sparta arrived at Athens. Alcibiades, by stratagem, or rather by a piece of unjustifiable roguery, provoked the people to such a degree against the ambassadors, that they dismissed them in a very contumelious manner. The ambassadors returned to Sparta, full of indignation at the insolent usage they had received at Athens; and the war was immediately renewed. The Athenians conclude an alliance with the Mantineans and Eleans, name Alcibiades general, and send an army to ravage Laconia.

Nicias and Alcibiades enjoyed between them all authority in Athens. The former had disgusted the people, by opposing their unreasonable desires; the latter had provoked them by his haughty behaviour and dissolute life. Each of them however, was supported by a faction, and they reciprocally ran the hazard of being banished by ostracism. For Hyperbolus, a man of a profligate character, who possessed some influence in the republic, used every art to irritate the people against them, flattering himself with the hope of succeeding to the place and power of him that should be banished. But Nicias and Alcibiades uniting their interests, procured the banishment of Hyperbolus. As this punishment of ostracism had never before been employed except against persons of superior merit and distinction, it fell into disuse ever after this time, on account of its having been exercised upon so unworthy a subject.

Alcibiades, in the mean time, indulged himself without reserve in his pleasures. The luxury and voluptuousness in which he lived, made every virtuous Athenian ashamed. He was engaged in a continual round of feasting and debauchery; and the wiser sort became apprehensive, lest by means

of his extravagant profusion to the people, and of the daily shows with which he entertained them, he should arrive at last at supreme and absolute power, and become their tyrant.

Since the death of Pericles, the Athenians had maintained a strict alliance with the Leontines in Sicily, who, on being attacked by the Syracusans had sent an embassy to Athens, at the head of which was the celebrated orator Gorgias, who pleaded the cause of the Leontines in an oration so elegant and pathetic, that the request of the ambassadors was complied with; and the Athenians sent a fleet to Rhegium to assist the Leontines. Next year they sent thither a more numerous fleet still, under pretence of assisting the towns oppressed by the Syracusans, but in fact to open to themselves a way to the conquest of Sicily. Alcibiades, by his harangues, instigated the Athenians still more and more to this undertaking, and talked of nothing less than extending the conquests of Athens over Africa and Italy.

While the minds of the Athenians were full of those mighty projects, ambassadors arrived from the Egestians to implore their assistance against the Selinontines, who were supported by the Syracusans; offering at the same time to pay the troops that should be sent to their assistance. The Athenians, tempted by these promises, named Alcibiades, Nicias, and Lamachus, to command a fleet destined to succour the Egestians. Nicias remonstrated against this expedition in the strongest terms, and painted out, in the most lively colours, what ruinous consequences might thence result to the republic. He represented to the Athenians, that they had but too many enemies on their hands already, without going abroad to seek for more; and that though they were hardly beginning to recover from the misfortunes occasioned by the late war and plague, they were wantonly exposing themselves to a greater danger still.

Nicias, in this harangue, likewise reflected indirectly on the luxury of Alcibiades, who had now carried his extravagance to an incredible pitch. The expence of the furniture of his house, and of his retinue, was prodigious. His table was as sumptuous as that of any prince; and he contended at the Olympic games with seven different sets of horses. To support so expensive a life, it was absolutely necessary for him to possess vast funds; and Nicias, no doubt, meant to insinuate, that Alcibiades expected to have an opportunity, by this expedition, to repair his private fortune, which must have been greatly dissipated by such enormous expences. Alcibiades answered the harangue of Nicias, by telling the audience, that his magnificence was intended to reflect honour on his country. He put them in mind of his services to the commonwealth. He assured them that the cities of Sicily were so weary of the oppression of their petty sovereigns, that they would instantly open their gates to the first power which should appear to deliver them from their present slavery; and he concluded with telling them, that to carry their arms abroad, was the surest way to damp the courage of their enemies, and that the Athenians must always continue masters at sea, in spite of the Lacedemonians.

The Athenians, delighted with this flattering speech of Alcibiades, entirely disregarded that of Nicias, who was a man of a soft pusillanimous disposition, and of an irresolute temper. They therefore persisted in their resolution to undertake this expedition, and began to make the necessary preparations for it with the utmost dispatch.

Just as the Athenian fleet was on the point of setting sail, several evil presages fell out that extremely perplexed the minds of the people. 1st, The feast of Adonis happened at this time, which was celebrated by the women uttering piteous groans and lamentations; and it was customary for all the inhabitants on that occasion to wear mourning. 2dly,

The statutes of Mercury, one of which stood before the entry of every house, were all maimed in the same night, and the author of this piece of sacrilege could not be discovered. The wild libertine character of Alcibiades exposed him to suspicions of having been concerned in this mischief. But the affection entertained for him by the soldiers and sailors, who declared that they would not proceed on the expedition, if the smallest violence were offered to his person, preserved him at present from any trouble on that head.

Alcibiades demanded to be tried, that he might have an opportunity of justifying himself before his departure. But the people, impatient for the expedition proceeding, obliged him to set sail. The view of the fleet under sail attracted the admiration both of the citizens and of strangers; for never had a single city in the western world displayed so grand and magnificent an armament. It consisted of 136 vessels, carrying 6280 soldiers, of whom the greater part were heavy armed. Besides these, there were thirty vessels loaded with provisions; and the whole was attended by 100 barks, without including merchant ships, or the after augmentations of the fleet. Besides the sea forces, there was a body of troops for the land service, and among these a few cavalry. All the forces were equipped in the most complete manner: and, upon the whole, there could hardly be a grander or more beautiful exhibition.

When the troops were embarked, the whole
415. fleet, on a signal given by a trumpet, weighed anchor, attended with a general shout of the spectators, pouring out their most earnest vows for the success of their fellow citizens. The fleet directed its course towards Rhegium, whither they dispatched some ships before the rest, to see that the money promised by the Egestians was ready; of which, however, they found no more than thirty talents provided. Nicias availed himself of this circumstance, to enforce the reasons he had insisted

on against the expedition, and advised to terminate the dispute between the Egestians and Selinontines in an amicable manner ; to oblige the former to fulfil their engagements ; and then to return to Athens. Alcibiades, on the contrary, said it would be disgraceful to return without performing some signal exploit with so powerful an armament ; that they ought to endeavour to detach the Greeks in Sicily from their connexion with Syracuse, to bring them over to their own party, and after obtaining from them reinforcements both of troops and provisions, to attack Syracuse. Lamachus advised to march immediately against Syracuse. But the opinion of Alcibiades prevailed. They, therefore, continued their course for Sicily, where Alcibiades reduced Catanea.*

Let us now look back to Athens. The enemies of Alcibiades, intent alone on gratifying their resentment, without regarding the public interest, took advantage of his absence to renew against him an accusation of having in a debauch profaned the mysteries of Proserpine and Ceres ; and they prosecuted the accusation with the most inveterate malice and animosity. Many persons were accused and thrown into prison, without being even permitted to be heard ; and a vessel was dispatched to bring Alcibiades to stand trial before the people. To this he apparently consented and went on board of the galley ; but on arriving at Thurium he disappeared. Not having therefore obeyed the summons within the limited time, he was condemned to death for contumacy, and his effects were confiscated.

Nicias finding himself, by the absence of Alcibiades, invested with the sole command, managed matters in that slow irresolute manner that was natural to him, wasting the ardour of the army in fatiguing insignificant marches along the coasts ; and at last he retired to Catanea, without performing any greater exploit than ruining a small village.

* In the year 416 before Christ, the Agrarian law was first proposed at Rome.

Alcibiades arriving at Argos, applied to the Spartans for permission to live in their city, and under their protection, making them in return an offer of his best services. The Spartans, overjoyed to have in their power so able a general of their enemy, received him with the highest marks of good will and esteem. Here, by the singular faculty he possessed of accommodating himself to the way of life of every country in which he had occasion to live, he imitated with the greatest ease the Spartan temperance and austerity, and by that means quickly gained their sincere affection.

The Syracusans, in the mean time, made vigorous preparations for an obstinate defence, and began to upbraid the Athenians for remaining shut up in Catanea. Nicias, stung with these reproaches, resolved at last to attack Syracuse by sea and land.

As this siege of Syracuse is one of the most remarkable recorded in history, it is proper, in a very few words, to give some idea of the situation of that city. It was originally founded by Archias the Corinthian, on the eastern coast of Sicily. It had a greater and lesser harbour; the circumference of the greater being about six miles. The town itself was one of the most beautiful and powerful possessed by the Greeks; and consisted of three principal divisions; *first*, The island called Ortygia, which was separated from the main land by a narrow arm of the sea. This quarter was every where strongly fortified in the fashion of those times, and might therefore be regarded as the citadel of Syracuse. The *second* division, Acradina, stood on the main land nearest to the little strait that bounded Ortygia, with which it communicated by a bridge thrown over that strait. This formed the body of the city. Tyche, the *third* great division, adjoined to Acradina on the land side; and a mass of building or fortification, named Hexapilus, commanded the access to Tyche. Beyond and contiguous to Hexapilus was the large suburb of Epipolus, situated for

the greater part on a steep eminence. The whole united formed perhaps one of the most extensive cities at that time in the world.

The news of the arrival of the Athenian fleet in Sicily, produced the greatest consternation among the Syracusans, who immediately applied themselves, with the utmost diligence, to make the necessary preparations for repelling the attack of the enemy. The backwardness of Nicias contributed not a little to revive the courage of the Syracusans; a party of whose horse approached to the very skirts of the Athenian camp. Nicias, not daring to disembark his troops in the face of an enemy prepared to receive them, procured false intelligence to be conveyed to the Syracusans, who in consequence thereof hoping to surprise his camp, marched all their forces towards Catanea. But Nicias, in the mean time, reimbarked his men, and sailing towards the neighbourhood of Syracuse, effected a landing at Olympia, and there pitched his camp.

The Syracusan troops finding themselves deceived, returned to Syracuse, and drew themselves up in battle order before the walls of the city. Nicias did not decline the combat, which proved long and obstinate. The Syracusans, however, were at last obliged to give ground, and under cover of their cavalry to retreat into the city. The Athenians being too weak to attack the city, sailed back to Catanea, where they took up their winter quarters, intending to return to Syracuse in the spring. But being in want both of money and provisions, they sent to Athens for both. The Syracusans, in the mean time, acquiring fresh courage, chose for their general Hermocrates, a man of distinguished bravery, and very skilful in the art of war. By his advice they dispatched ambassadors to Corinth and Sparta to renew their former alliances, and to beg assistance; which they accordingly obtained. Alcibiades, who was then at Sparta, meditating vengeance against his ungrateful countrymen, supported the

request of the Syracusans, and persuaded the Lacedemonians to send Gylippus as general into Sicily, and at the same time to make a diversion to the Athenian arms, by attacking them in Attica.

The Syracusans, in the mean time, were diligently fortifying their city. They raised a wall along one side of the suburb of Epipolis, and getting intelligence that the Athenians were at Naxos, ordered their army to march and burn the Athenian camp at Catanea.

Nicias having received 300 talents, and a reinforcement of some troops of horse, advanced towards Syracuse. Though this general was very slow in entering upon action, yet when once in motion, he proceeded with much spirit and diligence. Sailing from Catanea, he arrived within less than a mile of Epipolis; and having there landed his forces, he retired with the fleet towards Thapsus, a part of Syracuse that forms a peninsula, of which he shut up the entry. A body of Syracusans, to the number of 700 men, having attacked the Athenians, were repulsed, after losing 300 of their number on the spot. The victors erected a trophy, and formed the design of throwing up a fortification on the highest part of the Epipolis. Nicias, at the same time, received a reinforcement of 300 horse from the Egestians, which, joined to 250 lately sent him from Athens, and the few he had before, formed altogether a body of 650 cavalry.

Encouraged by this assistance, he raised a line of circumvallation on the Tyche side, to shut up the city all the way from Tyche to the sea on the north. This work advanced very briskly in spite of repeated attacks made by the Syracusans, in one of which their cavalry was routed. The Syracusans, on the other hand, began to erect a fortification that might prevent the Athenians from carrying on their line of circumvallation. But the Athenians attacked those who guarded it, pursued them into the city, and then destroyed the fortification. Having com-

pleted the line along the north side, the Athenians proceeded to construct another that might completely shut up the city. The Syracusans, to prevent their extending this second wall to the sea-side, threw up a ditch across a marsh, and lined it with palisadoes; but the Athenians descending suddenly from Epipolis, filled up the ditch. On this occasion they had an engagement with the Syracusans, in which they were at first successful; but in attempting to cut off the flight of the enemy, their right wing was charged by the Syracusan cavalry, and thrown into disorder; and Lamachus advancing to its assistance with the Argive auxiliaries, was killed. The Syracusans, animated by this advantage, determined to attack the Athenian fort on Epipolis. But Nicias, though then sick, saved it by a stratagem; giving orders to set the wood between the entrenchments on fire; the flames of which deterred the Syracusans from their enterprise.

In the mean time the Athenian fleet, which lay at anchor at Thapsus, having received orders to come before the city, entered the large harbour, and obliged the Syracusans to shut themselves up within the walls. The Athenians, not satisfied with their fortifications on the top of Epipolus, threw up two walls at the bottom of it, one for a defence against the Syracusans within the city, and the other against their army, which was encamped without the walls. When all these works were completed, Nicias entertained the most sanguine hopes of taking Syracuse; and his expectations were confirmed on his being joined by several of the states of Sicily, and receiving a fresh supply of provisions. The Syracusans now looked upon themselves as lost; and a rumour prevailed that the Athenians were become masters of the whole island. But the arrival of Gylippus with succours from Lacedemon, gave a new turn to their affairs.

Nicias, from too great a confidence in his own strength, was not at all alarmed at his arrival, nor

took any trouble to oppose his landing. The event, however, was decisive; for Syracuse was capable of making no further resistance, and its citizens were consulting about the articles of capitulation, when they received notice, that Gylippus was come
414. to their assistance with several galleys. They immediately sent out a body of troops to cover his landing; which was no sooner effected, than they advanced in order of battle towards Epipolis. The Athenians, though taken unprepared, made dispositions for fighting; but, in their confusion, Gylippus attacked the fortification on the top of Epipolis, and carried it by assault.

Nicias's whole hope being now confined to his naval force, he thought it necessary to fortify the promontory of Plemmyrus, which narrows the entrance into the great harbour, and for that purpose erected on it three different forts. But a large detachment of his soldiers and sailors having gone in quest of wood and water, were intercepted by the enemy's horse. Gylippus, on his part, completed the fortification which had been begun by the Syracusans; and daily offered battle to the Athenians. He was beaten in the first engagement, chiefly on account of the narrowness of his ground. But having next day drawn up his men on a more extensive spot, he charged the left wing of the Athenian army, broke them and pursued them to their camp. This success raised the courage of the Syracusans, whose horse sallied out upon the enemy, and took several prisoners. After this victory they fitted out some galleys, and sent to Lacedemon and Corinth to implore fresh succours.

Nicias finding his troops diminishing every day, wrote to Athens a very pressing letter, in which he pathetically described the ruinous condition of his galleys, and the alarming decrease both of his sailors and soldiers by mortality and by the usual operations of war, the latter chiefly occasioned by the superiority of the enemy's cavalry. He likewise

informed his countrymen, that Gylippus was employing every artifice to unite against them all the states of the island ; and he concluded with entreating them either to recal him, or to send out another armament as powerful as the first, with money and provisions in proportion ; and in any event, to look out for a successor to him in the command, his infirmities incapacitating him to discharge that duty any longer.

This letter spread an universal dejection over Athens. After several deliberations, they appointed two officers, Menander and Euthydemus, as assistants only to Nicias, not to supersede him in the command ; and other two, Eurymedon and Demosthenes, to supply the place of Lamachus. Eurymedon set out before the rest with ten galleys, and some money.

Let us for a moment look back to the war of the Peloponnesus. The Lacedemonians, under their king Agis, made a fresh incursion into Attica, laid waste the country, and fortified Decelia, an important post, within eighteen miles of Athens, whence they commanded the whole country, and prevented the Athenians from working their silver mines, or deriving any advantage from their lands, which they durst not labour. To add still farther to the distress of the Athenians, they were obliged to watch day and night, being kept in a continual alarm by the daily incursions of the enemy. Besides, as all provisions, before arriving at the city, were brought a great way about, they became very dear ; and many of their slaves deserted to the enemy for want of food. Money too was very scarce, neither their mines nor lands yielding them any thing. On the whole, the Athenians found themselves in a most distressful situation.

To return to Syracuse. Gylippus having raised in Sicily a great number of recruits for their army, persuaded the Syracusans to exert all their resources in the equipment of a powerful fleet, that they

might be able to attack their enemies both by sea and land. In a very little time eighty Syracusan galleys appearing off Plemmyrus, the Athenians got on board of their fleet, and sailed against the enemy. A very obstinate engagement ensued, which, however, was not decisive for either party. But Gylippus, in the mean time, attacked the forts on Plemmyrus, and carried them by assault, after killing many Athenian soldiers, and taking several prisoners. In these forts Gylippus found a good deal of money and ammunition, with the furniture of a great number of galleys; and by putting the Syracusans in possession of that important post, he rendered it difficult for Nicias to receive any convoys. The Athenians, therefore, were seized with great consternation.

But this success of the Syracusans received about this time a considerable check. For their ships having fallen foul of one another at the entrance of the lesser harbour, the Athenians attacked them, sunk eleven of them, and dispersed the rest. In memory of this victory, the Athenians erected a trophy on a small island.

Several other insignificant engagements, which it would be tedious to recount, happened between the two parties. The Syracusans, however, considering that it would be prudent for them to hazard another battle before the arrival of the reinforcements expected by the enemy from Athens, began to prepare themselves for it with all possible diligence. Nicias, on the contrary, sensible how dangerous it was to venture another engagement, his men being so much diminished in point of numbers, and exhausted with fatigue, resolved to decline fighting till the expected assistance should arrive. But Menander and Euthydemus, actuated by jealousy against Nicias, maintained, that the honour and reputation of Athens would suffer by their declining the combat; and they insisted with such obstinacy on his giving battle, that Nicias was forced to comply.

The fleets at first only engaged in small skirmishes. But towards the end of the third day, the Syracusans, after making a feint of retiring, as they had done the two preceding days, turned suddenly upon the Athenians, who being thus taken unawares, and not having time to form, were obliged to fly, after losing seven galleys, and a great number of soldiers. The miserable situation to which Nicias saw his affairs now reduced, by suffering himself to be over-ruled by his colleagues, threw him into despair.

The day after the battle, the expected Athenian fleet, consisting of seventy-three galleys, commanded by Demosthenes, all richly ornamented, and carrying about 8000 soldiers, came in sight, and advanced with an air of triumph. The Syracusans were confounded at their appearance, believing the resources of the Athenians to be inexhaustible, and that they were to be exposed to greater calamities than ever.

Demosthenes resolved to avail himself of the consternation into which his arrival had thrown the Syracusans, flattering himself with the persuasion of taking the city at once. But his design was rash. Nicias represented to him in vain, that the Syracusans, being reduced to the last extremity for want of money and provisions, would very soon surrender; which he knew certainly by the information of some persons within the town, who advised him to wait patiently a little longer. But as he did not choose to mention those from whom he received this intelligence, his remonstrances were disregarded; for not only Demosthenes and the other commanders, but even the inferior officers, believed this opinion of Nicias to be entirely suggested by fear. Demosthenes even proceeded to upbraid his backwardness; his reproaches were applauded by the rest, and all discovered the utmost impatience for fighting.

Demosthenes immediately resolved to attack Epipolis. Having led thither all his forces at night, he himself began the attack of the entrench-

ments, killed those who guarded them, and at the same time repulsed the troops that had sallied out upon him from the city. The Athenians, animated by their success, hurry forward in disorder, and bear down every thing that opposes them. But the Boeotian troops unexpectedly stop their career, and, attacking them with levelled spears, put them to flight, and make a great slaughter. The whole army is seized with a panic, which is increased by the darkness of the night. Some in their flight fall from the tops of the rocks, and are dashed in pieces; others wander into the country, and are either killed or taken by the Syracusan horse. Upon this occasion the Athenians are said to have lost upwards of 2000 men.

This grievous disaster entirely discouraged the Athenians; whose number too was continually diminishing by the diseases that prevailed in the army, occasioned by the unwholesome vapours of a morass near to which the army was encamped. Demosthenes therefore advised to raise the siege immediately. But Nicias, though of the same opinion, thought an abrupt departure would but expose their weakness too much; and that, at any rate, they ought to wait for orders from Athens. On this point Demosthenes was obliged to submit to his colleague. But Gylippus having, in the mean time, brought a fresh supply of troops to the aid of the Syracusans, the apprehensions of the Athenians were so much increased, that they resolved to depart immediately.

The Syracusans getting notice of this resolution, prepared to attack them by sea and land. They fell first upon their entrenchments, which they carried; and then their galleys sailed against those of the Athenians. Eurymedon having separated himself from the rest of the fleet, with an intention to surround the Syracusans, was pursued by them to the bottom of the gulf, defeated and killed, and the galleys under his command were driven on shore.

But Gylippus having attacked the Athenian soldiers as they were making their escape out of the galleys to the land, was repulsed with loss. In the mean time, however, the Syracusans took possession of eighteen of those galleys, after cutting off their crews.

This blow threw the Athenians into the deepest dejection. The Syracusans, on the other hand, promised themselves a complete conquest over their enemies, and began to devise new obstacles to their departure; for which purpose, they shut up the mouth of the great harbour with iron chains. The Athenians finding themselves thus hemmed in, and straitened for provisions, resolved to hazard another sea-fight. With this view, Nicias embarked the flower of his foot soldiers on board of 110 galleys, and drew up the rest of his troops along the shore.

The generals on both sides, after using the most powerful arguments to encourage their men, led them on to the engagement, which proved extremely bloody. The Athenians advancing to the mouth of the harbour to break the chains, and the Syracusans likewise hurrying thither to prevent them, the galleys were so crowded together, that they could neither move backwards nor forwards, nor fight in any sort of order, and the battle grew extremely furious. Nothing was to be seen but the ruins of ships, and numbers of dead bodies. The uproar and confusion was so great, that the orders of the commanders could no more be heard. The Athenians still endeavoured to break the chain, and their enemies to defend it. At last, however, after a very long and obstinate contest, the Athenian fleet was driven on shore by the enemy, and victory declared in favour of the Syracusans.

The unfortunate Athenians, not daring to attempt the passage a second time, had now no other resource left, than to retreat in the night by land, and to abandon their fleet to the enemy. Harmocrates guessed their design, and procured false intelligence to be conveyed to Nicias, of the enemy having seiz-

ed the passes. The Athenians, therefore, instead of setting out in the night, delayed their march till the second day after ; so that in the interval the Syracusans had time really to possess themselves of the most difficult passes, to break down the bridges, and to post their cavalry along the plain.

The departure of the Athenians, exhibited one of the most melancholy scenes that can well be imagined; being obliged to leave behind them their sick and wounded, who conjured them by every tender name to carry them with them, and called on the gods to witness the cruelty of their fellow-soldiers. Terror appeared in every countenance. Nicias, though worn out with sickness, and deprived of common necessities, exerted his utmost efforts to keep up their drooping spirits ; telling them, that they were still formidable by their numbers, and that fortune must at last cease to persecute them.

The army was disposed in two different columns ; and the retreat was at first conducted with pretty good order. But being able to discover no free passage, the troops were continually galled by the Syracusan cavalry. Their provision failing in the mean time, they altered their plan, and resolved to march in the night. This expedient proved fatal to them. For one half of the rear guard, with Demosthenes at their head, having lost their way in the dark, were next day overtaken by the Syracusans, who surrounded and attacked them in a narrow defile. The Athenians, however, defended themselves with the most desperate bravery, till exhausted with hunger and fatigue, they were at length compelled to surrender at discretion, together with Demosthenes their commander, though amounting still to about 6000 men.

Nicias, after passing a river, and encamping on a rising ground, was likewise overtaken by the enemy, who ordered him to lay down his arms. In this situation, he offered to deliver them hostages, as a security for his repaying them all the expences

they had incurred by war, provided they would permit him and his men to depart from Sicily. The Syracusans rejected his proposals, and immediately attacked his troops, who still defended themselves with great bravery. Arriving at last at the river Assinarus, his soldiers, half dead with thirst, greedily plunged into it to drink. But the Syracusans immediately renewing the attack, entered the river along with the Athenians, and cut them off while quenching their thirst. Nicias seeing the slaughter, agreed to surrender himself to Gylippus, if he would
413. spare the rest of his men. They were accordingly all taken prisoners, and conducted into the city in triumph.

Next day the Syracusans deliberated about the fate of the prisoners, and their two commanders. Diocles advised to confine the other prisoners in the public prisons, and to put the two generals to death. This last article shocked the wiser part of the citizens extremely; and one of them, named Nicholas, a venerable old man, mounting the speaker's place, pronounced a most pathetic and sensible speech, telling his countrymen, that such a gross act of inhumanity must make them abhorred and detested by all nations, more especially as the gods had already sufficiently punished the Athenians. This speech, which was enforced by many other powerful arguments, made a great impression upon the citizens, who seemed to be mercifully disposed, till some of them who were more exasperated than the rest against the Athenians, by the loss of children and relations, stood up, and represented in the strongest colours the numberless miseries brought upon their country by the Athenians. The recital of those miseries so inflamed the resentment of the people, that they instantly followed the advice of Diocles, and condemned to death the two Athenian commanders, who were executed accordingly. The tragical fate of those two unhappy generals was commiserated by every moderate person, particularly that of Nicias, who had always opposed this fatal

expedition. The rest of the prisoners were confined in the public prisons, where they underwent the cruellest hardships, receiving every day a very small allowance of only meal and water for sustenance. At the end of eight months, they were taken out of those dungeons, and sold for slaves; but in the mean time many of them had died.

We may easily conceive the consternation of the Athenians, when they heard of the miserable event of their Sicilian expedition, and the entire ruin both of their army and fleet. This unfortunate enterprise gave a fatal blow to their power. Never before had they been reduced to so distressful a situation, without money, without any army, without a fleet. However, after having vented their resentment against those who had been principally instrumental in engaging them in that expedition, they resumed their courage, used every means to procure money, and applied themselves with all possible diligence to equip a new fleet.

But their difficulties and misfortunes continued to multiply upon them. The Greek allies, particularly those of Eubœa, Chios, and Lesbos, 412. weary of furnishing contributions to carry on the war, thought this disaster presented them with a favourable opportunity for asserting their independency, and throwing off the Athenian yoke. They applied therefore to the Lacedemonians to take them under their protection.

But this was not all. Tissaphernes, the Persian governor of Lydia and Ionia, provoked at the opposition made by the Athenians to his levying the usual contributions on his province, promised to furnish the Lacedemonians with the necessary expenses of their warlike preparations, to incite them to proceed against the Athenians with more diligence and alacrity; and Pharnabazus, the Persian governor of the Hellespont, made them a like offer. Alcibiades, however, persuaded the Lacedemonians to reject the proposals of Tissaphernes. That famous

Athenian had been long uniformly employed in plotting mischief against his countrymen, in revenge of their unjust treatment of him; and with that view he had made a journey to Chios, and had prevailed on several cities of Ionia to revolt. Nothing was done in Sparta but by the interposition of Alcibiades. But his exorbitant power in that city at last drew upon him the jealousy of its king Agis, and the principal Spartans, who devised a plan for the destruction of so active an adversary.

Alcibiades, informed of his danger, fled to Sardis, and put himself under the protection of Tissaphernes. His engaging manners, and the charms of his conversation, soon procured him the friendship of that satrap, who, though of a haughty fierce disposition, and a barbarian, freely communicated all his secrets to Alcibiades. But of what value are wit, bravery, and the finest exterior accomplishments, when they cover a bad heart? Alcibiades, on this occasion, showed himself to be a man of no principle, and void of all affection for his country. He advised Tissaphernes to keep up the animosity between Athens and Sparta, and to assist them against each other, that they might exhaust their resources in their mutual destruction, and so become in the end an easy prey to the Persian monarch. Tissaphernes adopted his plan; and from that time forward, the Persians, who durst not now attack the Greeks with open force, employed their money and influence to foment quarrels among the different states; sending considerable sums sometimes to Athens, sometimes to Sparta, as the necessities of each required, to keep the balance even between the two, and to enable them to ruin each other.

The Athenians hearing of the great credit of Alcibiades at the court of Tissaphernes, repented heartily of their harsh usage of him. For though by means of their fleet they had lately been able to reduce the revolted islands to obedience, yet they entertained strong apprehensions of Tissaphernes, who was soon to receive 150 vessels from Phœnicia.

Alcibiades being no stranger to their sentiments with respect to himself, had it privately hinted to them, that he was desirous to return to Athens, and would procure them the friendship and assistance of Tissaphernes, provided they would abolish the popular form of government, and establish aristocracy. This met with great opposition at first, particularly from the enemies of Alcibiades. But as there appeared no other means of saving the republic from utter ruin, the people at last consented, though much against their inclination.

Pisander, accordingly, with ten other deputies, were appointed to treat with Alcibiades and Tissaphernes. But the latter, apprehensive of rendering the Athenians too powerful, and choosing rather to adhere to the plan laid down by Alcibiades of fomenting the war between the two republics, insisted upon it as a preliminary condition, that the Athenians should relinquish all their possessions in Ionia; and made other demands of such an extravagant nature, that the deputies broke off the treaty in disgust, convinced that Alcibiades had only meant to make them ridiculous. Tissaphernes at the same time concluded an alliance with the Peloponnesians, by which he agreed on their ceding all their provinces in Asia in favour of his master the king of Persia, to defray the expence of the Lacedemonian fleet, till the arrival of that of the Persians. These transactions happened in the eleventh year of the reign of Darius Nothus.

At Athens, but too much deference was paid to the opinion of Alcibiades. In consequence of his advice, the popular government was abolished, and aristocracy set up in its place. The whole magistracy was thrown into the hands of 400 persons, who were invested with absolute power. These new rulers soon discovered their tyrannical disposition. Entering the senate armed with poniards, and surrounded with guards, they dissolved it, after paying the 500 members of it the salaries due to them.

Their administration was ushered in with sentences of banishment, proscriptions, and poisonings of those from whom they expected opposition. But this violent behaviour quickly exasperated all the citizens against them; and the army which was then lying at Samos, hearing of their proceedings, was so highly enraged, that they reduced such of their officers as they suspected to be connected with the aristocracy, appointed Thrasyllus and Thrasybulus in their stead, and anxiously intreated Alcibiades to take the chief command.

Alcibiades obeyed; and putting himself at the head of the Athenian forces, proceeded to Miletus, to present himself in his new dignity before Tissaphernes, and to shew the satrap, that the power of his countrymen was still formidable. Returning to Samos, he found there messengers from the 400 waiting for him. But the soldiers would not even deign to hear them, insisting to be instantly led against the tyrants. Alcibiades, however, considering that, by departing with the army from Samos, he should leave Ionia exposed in a defenceless situation to the attempts of the enemy, and fearing, besides, lest his appearance at Athens might be productive of a civil war, in which his countrymen would exhaust their strength against each other, refused to comply with the request of the soldiers; but at the same time he declared it to be his opinion, that it was necessary to abolish aristocracy, and to restore the senate.

The fleet which Tissaphernes had promised to send to the assistance of the Peloponnesians, arriving in the mean time at Aspendos in Pamphylia, Alcibiades sailed to oppose its proceeding any further. But the Lacedemonians having defeated the fleet sent by the 400 to the relief of Eubœa, and having taken possession of that island, the Athenians were thrown into the greatest consternation, as Eubœa furnished them with the greater part of their provisions. Had the Lacedemonians profitted, as they ought to have done, by the confusion produced by this event at

Athens, and advanced with their victorious fleet against that city, the fate of the Athenian republic might in all probability have been determined. But the slowness with which the Lacedemonians conducted all their enterprises, gave time to the Athenians to put themselves in a proper posture of defence. They immediately recalled Alcibiades, deprived the 400 of their authority, and fitted out another fleet, of which they gave the command to Thrasyllus and Thrasybulus. These commanders accordingly set sail, and falling in with the enemy's fleet on the coast of the Hellespont, totally defeated it.

Alcibiades, naturally fond of glory, and desirous of performing some exploit, before returning to Athens, that might render his arrival more welcome to his countrymen, cruised with his fleet about the islands of Cos and Cnidus; and getting intelligence that the other Athenian fleet was on the point of coming to a second engagement with that of the Peloponnesians near Abydos, he hurried to the assistance of the former, and arrived just as they were beginning the battle. He immediately falls on the enemy with eighteen ships, takes thirty of theirs, destroys many of the remainder, makes a great slaughter of their soldiers while endeavouring to save themselves by swimming, and erects a trophy. Proud of his success, he resolves to appear once more before Tissaphernes in all the glory of a conqueror. But the satrap, apprehensive lest the Lacedemonians should complain of his conduct to the Persian monarch, ordered Alcibiades to be apprehended and conveyed to Sardis, informing him at the same time that he had received orders from his master to make war on the Athenians. Alcibiades, however, found means to escape from his confinement, and to get on board the Athenian fleet, where he was quickly joined by Theramenes with twenty ships; and soon after by Thrasybulus with twenty more. Finding himself now at the head of a pow-

erful fleet, of no fewer than eight vessels, he resolved to proceed to Cizicus to attack Mindarus, commander of the Peloponnesian fleet, and Pharnabazus, who had joined him there. A heavy shower of rain, attended with thunder concealed his approach from the enemy. As soon as it was fair, he suddenly advanced to the attack with forty ships. The enemy, despising the small number of his vessels, began the engagement with great bravery; but on seeing the rest of his fleet come up, they were seized with a panic and fled. Alcibiades, availing himself of their confusion, landed his troops, charged those of Pharnabazus, put them to flight, and killed Mindarus with his own hand.

In Attica, Thrasyllus fell upon the rear guard of the Spartan army, which had been led up to the walls of Athens by their king Agis, and defeated them. Then he sailed to Samos with fifty ships; and having taken Colophon advanced to Ephesus. But being repulsed by Tissaphernes, he returned on board of his fleet, and intercepted four Syracusan vessels. About the same time a battle happened between Tissaphernes and Alcibiades, in which the former was defeated.

By these exploits Alcibiades rendered the Athenians masters of the Hellespont. The Lacedemonians, informed of this, sent ambassadors to Athens with proposals of peace. The wiser part of the citizens advised their countrymen to embrace this opportunity of making peace; which, in the present posture of their affairs, must be greatly to their advantage. But this was keenly opposed by those whose interest it was to continue the war.

In the next campaign, Alcibiades, whom success constantly attended, resolved to add Chalcedon to his conquests. He accordingly laid siege to that town, and obliged the Bythinians to deliver to him the provisions they intended for the Chalcedonians. The inhabitants attempted a sally, but were repulsed, and obliged, in spite of the approach of Phar-

nabazus to their relief, to surrender the town. The Athenians afterwards took several other places.

After so many exploits, Alcibiades desired to experience the gratitude of his country; and for that purpose set sail for Pyreus. The day of his arrival there was the most glorious of his life. All the people of Athens went out to meet him, and conducted him in triumph to the city. His fleet was loaded and ornamented with the spoils of the enemy; was attended by a great number of the ships they had taken; and displayed, in triumph, the colours of those they had sunk and destroyed.

407. He landed amidst repeated shouts of his fellow-citizens, who thronged about him to welcome him home, regarding him as a sort of tutelar deity, who had brought them back victory in his train. They gazed upon him therefore with admiration, reflecting on the miserable situation of the republic when he undertook its defence, and the many important services performed by him, by which he had rendered her triumphant both at sea and land.

Then Alcibiades assembling the people, proceeded to justify himself from the crime laid to his charge, and imputed all his misfortunes to his bad fortune. The Athenians, charmed with his eloquence, decreed him a crown of gold; and by way of reparation of the ill usage formerly received by him, they restored to him his estate, and named him chief commander by sea and land. The populace too, always prone to fall into extremes, began to talk of bestowing on him sovereign authority. But the principal citizens, to prevent the effects of their folly, caused a fleet to be equipped with all possible diligence, and urged his departure. Alcibiades, before setting out, resolved to celebrate the Eleusinian mysteries.

The Athenians had been long obliged to conduct this procession by sea, because the Lacedemonians had possession of the roads leading to Eleusis. But

Alcibiades resolved to have it performed in the usual manner; and for that purpose posted troops along both sides of the way, ready to repulse any attack of the enemy. Thus protecting the priests and the initiated with his soldiers, he conducted the procession in great order and solemnity all the way to Eleusis, and back again, without any accident. By this he intended to wipe out the suspicions of irreligion formerly entertained against him. The affection entertained for him by the Athenians was so much increased by this action, that they would have cheerfully made him king. But the principal citizens, not choosing to give Alcibiades time to explain himself on that head, hastened his departure, granting him every thing he desired. Accordingly, he at last set sail towards Andros with a fleet of 100 ships.

The Lacedemonians, alarmed at the late successes of the Athenians, thought it necessary to oppose one of their best generals to Alcibiades, and therefore elected Lysander chief commander of their fleet. Lysander, although of noble birth, being lineally descended from the Heraclidæ, was nevertheless educated with all the rigour and severity of the Spartan discipline. He was brave, artful, and insinuating; and to his ruling passion, ambition, could sacrifice every other pleasure or consideration whatever.

About this time Darius, the Persian monarch, had appointed the youngest of his sons, Cyrus, to be governor of Sardis; and advised him, on setting out for his government, to support the Lacedemonians in all events, in opposition to the Athenians. This was very different from the policy of Tissaphernes and the other Persian governors; who, as we have seen before, made it an invariable rule to hold the balance even between those two states, and, by assisting them alternately as their respective necessities required, to enable them to work out their mutual destruction.

Lysander soon put to sea, and directed his course to Sardis; where by means of his supple insinuating

behaviour, he soon pushed himself into favour with Cyrus, to whom he complained of the partiality of Tissaphernes to the Athenians. Cyrus told him, that he had orders from the king his father to assist the Lacedemonians; and, for that purpose, had received from him 500 talents of silver. Lysander then persuaded him to augment the pay of the sailors to four oboli a-day, and to order all the arrears due them to be immediately paid up. This augmentation of pay greatly contributed to weaken the Athenian fleet. For their sailors, tempted by the high pay, deserted to the Lacedemonians. After having obtained these advantages from Cyrus, and fixed him in the interests of his country, Lysander returned to his fleet, in the neighbourhood of Ephesus. That city was at this time plunged in indolence and luxury; the Persian satraps usually making it their winter residence. Lysander, therefore, laboured to revive industry among the inhabitants; and by a skilful application of rewards, succeeded in making the arts to flourish among them, and established in their city an arsenal for building galleys. This was one of the principal causes of the subsequent aggrandizement of Ephesus.

Lysander, however, awed by Alcibiades, declined coming to an engagement. But the Athenian general having departed into Ionia to raise money, and having committed the charge of his fleet to Antiochus, with positive orders to avoid a battle, his substitute, desirous to display his courage, sailed with two galleys into the harbour of Ephesus to brave the enemy. Lysander immediately went in pursuit of him; and the Athenians at the same time advancing to protect their commander, the fleets on both sides fell in with each other insensibly, and came to a general action. Lysander gained a complete victory, and took fifteen Athenian galleys.

When Alcibiades heard of this disaster, he resolved to repair it; and assembling the remains of his fleet before Samos, offered battle to Lysander;

which the latter, satisfied with his late advantage, thought proper to decline. Thrasybulus, in the mean time, the declared enemy of Alcibiades, availed himself of the late misfortune to ruin his credit with the people with whom he accused him of neglecting the public business, that he might have leisure to indulge himself in his debaucheries. Observe this inconstancy of this most ungrateful and capricious people ! Believing those insinuations, they accounted the loss of the battle under Antiochus criminal in Alcibiades, though fought in contradiction to his express directions. Such indeed was the opinion entertained of his parts by the Athenians, that they imagined no enterprise in which he was anywise concerned could fail, unless by his own treachery. They therefore suspected his fidelity ; and Alcibiades, lately the idol of his countrymen, was obliged to secure himself from their resentment by a voluntary banishment into a district of the Chersonesus.

Lysander, in the mean time, was employed in establishing aristocracy in all the towns he had subdued. With a view to the accomplishment of this ambitious project he was now meditating, he singled out from the chief men of each city those whom he discovered to be of the most daring and resolute spirit, put the whole power into their hands, enriched them by presents, and by these means rendered them entirely devoted to his interests. His command being expired, Callicratidas was appointed his successor ; and the Athenians chose Conon to supply the place of Alcibiades.

Callicratidas equalled Lysander in his military capacity, and was greatly his superior in probity and magnanimity. He possessed all the ancient Spartan virtue without its extravagances, and was a declared enemy of every species of low cunning or falsehood. Lysander, unable to disguise his jealousy on seeing him arrive, behaved in the meanest manner imaginable, sending back to Sardis all the mo-

ney that remained for the pay of the troops, and telling Callicratidas that he must apply for more to the great king. To Callicratidas, a man of a noble soul, and of the most elevated independent spirit, it was the greatest hardship in the world to be obliged to fawn and cringe to the deputies of the Persian monarch for a supply of money. Compelled however by necessity, he at last condescended to go all the way to Lydia to apply to Cyrus. But being constantly prevented, under one pretence or another, from obtaining an audience, he at last departed, full of indignation against those who were at first mean-spirited enough to pay court to the barbarians; and vowing to use his utmost endeavours to effect a reconciliation among the Greeks, that so they might be no longer under the necessity of submitting to such baseness.

It was now the twenty-sixth year of the Peloponnesian war. Conon having been pursued into the harbour of Mitylene by Callicratidas, who there kept him blocked up, gave notice of his danger to the Athenians, who dispatched to his assistance a fleet of 110 galleys, which was reinforced at Samos by forty more, furnished by their allies. Callicratidas falling in with this fleet before Arginusæ, off the promontory of Lesbos, made a vigorous attack upon them notwithstanding their superior number, and sunk several of their ships. But being himself opposed by the galley of Pericles, son of the famous Athenian of the same name, which he had pierced with the beak of his, and being unable to disengage himself from his antagonist, he was soon surrounded by several other Athenian galleys, and in spite of the most heroic bravery with which he defended himself, fell at last, overpowered by numbers, though not without great slaughter of the enemy. The Lacedemonians, discouraged by the loss of their commander, gave way on the right wing; and their left, after fighting some time longer with great valour, fled likewise. The Athenians after their vic-

tory retired into the island, and there erected a trophy. Their loss in this engagement amounted to twenty-five galleys; but that of their enemies to no fewer than seventy.

Plutarch, after bestowing the highest encomiums upon the virtues of Callicratidas, blames him for having so imprudently hazarded an engagement; and on that occasion observes, how highly dangerous it is for a general to give way to the impetuosity of his courage, as he thereby not only endangers his own single life, but likewise that of all under his command. The same sentiment is adopted by Cicero, who talking of those that, from a false opinion of glory, choose to hazard the fate of their country, rather than in any degree to sully their own reputation, cites this very example of Callicratidas, who, when exhorted to decline the engagement in which he fell, answered, "That Sparta might get a new fleet in case this were destroyed, but that his flying would overwhelm him with everlasting disgrace."

The Athenian generals in the mean time gave orders to Theramenes and Thrasybulus to carry home the slain in fifty galleys, that they might be buried with the accustomed ceremonies. But a violent tempest supervening, prevented them from executing their orders. The rest of the fleet proceeded towards Mitylene to disengage Conon.

The Athenians, among whom the rites of burial were so strictly observed, that they regarded the omission of them as an inexpressible crime, grew furious, on hearing that the citizens who had fallen in the late action were deprived of that necessary solemnity; and though the omission of it in the present case was unavoidable, they nevertheless treated it as a capital offence. Theramenes became the accuser of the generals, though it is inconceivable how he could take the charge, and more especially how he pushed it with such cruel obstinacy. When the generals arrived at Athens, they related

all the circumstances of the case, and called upon every man who had been present to vouch the truth of what they asserted. But the matter having been carried before the senate, it was there determined, that it should be referred to the decision of the people, who were ordered to report the opinion of each tribe distinctly; and if, upon the whole, the generals were found guilty, they were to suffer death. The famous Socrates opposed this unjust sentence with all his might. He himself undertook the defence of the accused, and maintained, with invincible force of argument, that as, by giving orders to carry off the dead bodies in order to burial, they had discharged the duty incumbent on them; and as the supervening tempest had rendered it impossible for those who had received those orders to put them in execution, neither party was guilty of any fault; and that, therefore, it would be the most gross and cruel injustice, to put to death men who had so gloriously and successfully exerted themselves in the defence of their country.

The accusers, however, had inflamed the resentment of the people to such a pitch, that in spite of these remonstrances, they condemned six of the ten generals to death; and they suffered accordingly. What an unreasonable ungrateful people! And how surprising that any man could be persuaded to command their fleets and armies! Plato takes occasion from this event to maintain, that the populace is an inconstant, ungrateful, cruel, jealous monster, utterly incapable of being guided by reason,—a sentiment confirmed by the universal experience of all nations.

The Peloponnesians, overwhelmed by their grievous loss at Arginusæ, sent to Sparta, to require the chief command to be conferred on Lysander, which was immediately granted. This choice gave great joy to those who possessed the chief authority in the respective cities, who being, as before observed, the creatures of Lysander, nothing could correspond better with their ambitious views.

It was about this time that the younger Cyrus (so called to distinguish him from Cyrus the Great, the founder of the Persian empire) now grown presumptuous and vain by his great power and the mean adulation of his courtiers, wantonly put to death two noble Persians, his own cousins-german, for no greater crime than their omitting to cover their hands in his presence; an action calculated to give us but an unfavourable opinion of that prince's heart and understanding. But it shows us at the same time, that prosperity can confound the judgment even of some of the wisest of men, and render them capable of the most extravagant excesses. Darius, when informed of the tragical fate of his two nephews, was much grieved; and considering this action of his son, as an attack upon his own authority, he sent for him under the pretence of a desire to see him, as he was then sick. Cyrus, before his departure, transmitted to Lysander large sums of money to maintain his fleet, and assured him that rather than let him want money, he would supply him out of his own pocket. He empowered him at the same time to levy the revenues of the towns under his government, and promised to bring a numerous naval reinforcement. Lysander was too wise not to avail himself fully of these favourable dispositions of Cyrus.

Lysander, full of the most sanguine expectations, sets sail towards the Hellespont, lays siege to Lampsacus, takes it by assault, and abandons it to pillage. The Athenians, on hearing this, advance with a fleet of 180 sail against the enemy, halt at a place called Ægos Potamos, opposite to Lampsacus, and make dispositions for attacking the enemy next day. On this occasion Lysander made use of stratagem, pretending to decline the engagement, and contenting himself with drawing up his galleys in battle array, in such a situation that they could not be attacked except at a disadvantage. The Athenians, persuaded that, through

fear, he seriously avoided coming to action, carelessly landed from their ships in the evening, and embarking again in the morning, offered battle afresh. In this manner they passed four days.

Alcibiades, who was then in exile, happening to be in that part of the country, came up to the Athenian commanders, and after representing to them the danger of their situation on an inhospitable coast, without either harbours or cities to which they might retire in case of necessity, offered to co-operate with them, by falling upon the enemy at land, with some Thracian troops under his command. But the generals despised his advice, and refused, out of jealousy, to accept of his service.

Lysander, in the mean while, was making preparations for attacking the Athenians, as soon as the soldiers and mariners should, in their usual careless manner, leave their ships. When the expected moment arrived, he commanded his fleet to advance in great pomp. Conon, one of the Athenian commanders, perceiving the enemy approaching, cried aloud to his men to come on board. But the soldiers, being dispersed among the tents, could not obey. In this critical moment, he resolved to save himself by flight; and taking along with him nine galleys, set sail for Cyprus. Lysander arriving in the mean time, falls upon the ships that remained, cuts in pieces those who were on board, as well as those who attempted to come to their assistance; and then landing his men, completes the destruction of those on shore. In fine, Lysander took possession of the greatest part of the fleet, made 3000 prisoners, took three of their commanders, and plundered their camp. This terrible defeat reduced the Athenians to the most miserable situation they had ever experienced, and determined the fate of the Peloponnesian war, after twenty-seven years' continuance.

This had been a very bloody war from the beginning, and it continued so to the end. It was their

superiority at sea that enabled the Athenians to support it for so long a time, and constantly to recover from their losses at land; and the Lacedemonians prevailed at last, merely by means of the immense sums furnished them by the Persian monarch. The 3000 prisoners taken in the last battle were, by the Peloponnesian council, condemned to death, and were accordingly all murdered in cold blood. Lysander visited the maritime towns, and changed their form of government from democracy to aristocracy, bestowing the whole power in them on creatures of his own. Wherever he found any Athenians, he commanded them, under pain of death, to retire to Athens; his plan being to reduce that city by famine.

We may easily conceive the terror and consternation occasioned by the news of the last defeat at Athens, which now found itself, without either army or fleet, on the brink of being exposed to a siege, and of suffering all the miseries of famine. The dread of those misfortunes overwhelmed them with despair. In the mean time, however, they made the best preparations in their power against the siege, of which they had so certain a prospect. In effect, they soon found themselves besieged both by sea and land. The kings of Sparta, Agis and Pausanias, surrounded them with their army by land; and Lysander blocked up Pyreus with his fleet.

The Athenians, deprived of all further resources, and labouring under the miseries of famine, sent deputies to treat with Agis, requesting only to be left in possession of their city and harbour, and resigning every thing else. Agis sends the deputies to Sparta, where the ephori insist on demolishing all the fortifications of their city. In this melancholy situation, Theramenes offers to go and employ his influence with Lysander. Being sent accordingly, he was industriously detained, for the space of three months, by that crafty Spartan, who was resolved

to oblige the Athenians by famine to agree to every particular that might be demanded. At last, Theramenes, and the other ambassadors, are again referred to the ephori by Lysander, and make another journey to Sparta, where a council is called to deliberate on the fate of Athens. No less than the utter destruction of that city is there talked of. The Thebans particularly were of that opinion. But Lysander opposed it; and the wiser part of the assembly declared, that they would not incur the infamy of extinguishing one of the eyes of Greece, by destroying a city which had rendered such signal services to the common cause.

After deliberating for three months, it was at last resolved to demolish the fortifications of Pyreus, and the long walls that communicated between that harbour and the city; to leave the Athenians only twelve galleys; to deprive them of all the cities of which they had taken possession; to oblige them to engage in an offensive and defensive alliance with the Lacedemonians; and to serve under them by sea and land. On these terms peace was granted them. The deputies having returned to Athens, and reported these resolutions, the Athenians, of whom great numbers were daily perishing by famine, found themselves under the hard necessity of agreeing to them without hesitation. In consequence of these conditions, Lysander entering 404. Pyreus, saw the fortifications demolished, amidst the sound of a variety of musical instruments. Thus ended the Peloponnesian war.

The Athenians, by accepting the conditions dictated to them by the Lacedemonians, had in a manner resigned themselves to the discretion of their enemies. Of this they soon became very sensible. Lysander entered their city, managed every thing according to his pleasure, obliged the people to abolish democracy, and establish thirty archons, who have been justly distinguished in history by the name of "the thirty tyrants."

From Athens Lysander proceeded to Samos, which he soon reduced: and the other cities, on being informed of the fate of Athens, voluntarily opened their gates to the victors. In each of those cities, Lysander put the government into the hands of a decemvirate, composed, for the greater part, of creatures of his own, entirely devoted to his interest; and by that means he acquired a sort of sovereignty in the cities.

Resolved, at last, to return to Sparta, there to enjoy the fruits of his success, he dispatched Gylippus before him, with all the money amassed by him in the course of his last command, which is said to have amounted to 1500 talents. Of this money Gylippus is reported to have stolen about a fifth part, by opening in the night the bottoms of the bags in which it was contained. But his dishonesty being discovered, he fled to avoid his merited punishment, and became a voluntary exile from his native country. On this occasion it was debated in Sparta, whether it were not an infringement of the laws, to admit this silver into the city. The wiser sort highly blamed Lysander for introducing among them that pernicious metal, which had always proved the bane and corruption of mankind; and they presented very strong remonstrances on the subject to the ephori, who ordered the silver to be carried out of the city, and of new enjoined the use of the ancient iron coin. But this sentence was opposed by the friends of Lysander, who proposed, as a conciliating expedient, that the silver should not be used in ordinary currency, but be deposited in the public treasury, to be applied solely to the service of the state. Plutarch, however, ridicules this expedient. It was not, says he, gold and silver of which Lycurgus was apprehensive; but avarice, the consequence of gold and silver. The event showed, that the prohibition of using them commonly had the effect of making them to be more passionately desired; and the Lacedemonians, becoming soon as sensible of the value

of them as any of their neighbours, employed the most tyrannical means to extort them from those under their subjection, imposing a tribute on all the states that were dependent on their authority.

Lysander, now in the zenith of his glory, eclipsed all mankind in the eyes of the Greeks, who carried their flattery so far as to erect altars to him : and the man himself being naturally vain, ordered his own statue to be cast in brass. Even the poets, encouraged by his bounty, employed their talents to celebrate his praise.

EMINENT WRITERS, PHILOSOPHERS, ARTISTS, &c.

METON was a famous astronomer, and the inventor of the cycle made use of by the Greeks and Romans, for calculating the times of new and full moon.

Anaxagoras was a native of Clazomene, and one of the most distinguished philosophers of antiquity. The study of natural philosophy was his passion ; to which, that he might apply with the greater freedom, he renounced the large possessions transmitted him by his ancestors, declined all public honours or employments, and refused himself the conveniency of marriage. He instructed the great Pericles in his philosophy, and assisted him likewise in public affairs with his advice. The scholar is reproached for having neglected his master, when oppressed by want in his old age. His principal residence was at Athens, where he taught for a long while ; but he ended his days at Lampsacus. When on his death-bed, the chief persons of that town having asked him, whether he desired any thing to be done by them, in honour of his memory, after his death ? he answered, that he had no other request to make, except that the anniversary of his death might be established as a holiday for the boys.

Empedocles, a Pythagorean philosopher, applied himself to reform the morals of his fellow citizens, the inhabitants of Agrigentum, who were remark-

able for their luxury and effeminacy. Having acquired great authority among them, he made no other use of it than to establish good order. He was universally holden in high esteem; and a poem of his upon the moral duties of mankind, had the honour to be rehearsed at the Olympic games. It is reported of him, that, desiring to pass for a god, he suddenly disappeared, by jumping into the gulf of mount *Ætna*. But this is a fable; for, according to the most credible authors, and Aristotle among the rest, he died in the Peloponnesus, in the year of the world 3576.

ANACREON, the lyric poet, was born at *Teos*, a town of *Ionia*. He was much esteemed by *Polycrates* tyrant of *Samos*, in whose court he passed a considerable part of his life. His poems contain an exact representation of his life, where ease and jollity shone throughout. He spent his whole time, either over his bottle and in his amours, or in composing his verses, of which the tender passions were the only theme.

Pindar was another famous lyric poet. His distinguishing characteristics are, grandeur, sublimity, and enthusiasm. When he has once taken his flight, he disdains all subjection to ordinary rules, neglects the connexion and transition of common discourse, and soars, like an eagle, into the regions of thunder and tempest. It is no longer the language of men that he speaks, but that which we imagine of the gods. But this disorder constitutes the chief beauty of the ode; the aim of which is not to form our judgment, but to warm our imagination. *Pindar* may be said to occupy a distinct place among the poets, and to be entirely without a rival; for, according to *Horace*, it is temerity to attempt to emulate him. His odes display the utmost sublimity and enthusiasm of which poetry is capable. His sentiments are strong and striking, his language pompous, and his versification rapid.

Eschylus was a famous tragic poet. Before dis-

covering his talents for tragedy, he had given proofs of his bravery in the engagements of Marathon and Salamis. He is considered as the father of tragedy, of which he had imbibed a just idea from the poems of Homer. Under his hands it received an entire new form. He confined the representation to a particular place, instead of being ambulatory as before. He dressed his actors in long robes, buskins, and masks; which last disguise must however have greatly diminished the force of the action. He made choice of grand and interesting subjects; infused life and spirit into the dialogue; dictated the language of passion; and excited terror and compassion. By introducing a chorus between the acts, he procured a sort of relaxation to the audience. His language is pompous and sublime, but sometimes obscure, and bordering on bombast.

Sophocles was born at Colonna, a considerable village in Attica, and was a tragic poet likewise. While yet but young, he was so sensible of his own merit, as to attempt to rival *Eschylus*, and to share with him the applause of the public. He carried his point on his first essay, and came off the conqueror of his master. *Eschylus* survived his defeat but a short while; for having retired to Sicily, he died soon after. *Sophocles* retained his genius in all its vigour to a very old age; in the course of which he received the crown of victory no fewer than twenty times. Of all his works, seven tragedies have only reached us. He was more eloquent and clear than *Eschylus*, and managed the passions with greater art. In his pieces, terror and pity were more skilfully produced, and affected the audience with more lively impressions. The sweetness of his numbers procured him the appellation of *The Bee*. His excess of joy, on account of the success of his last piece, occasioned his death.

Euripides, another tragic poet, was born at Salamis, flourished much about the same time with the former, and was equally successful in the same pur-

suit. He is more laboured and more sententious than Sophocles. The beautiful predominates in his pieces; which were not admired in Attica only. At Syracuse, after the defeat of the Athenians, some prisoners received their liberty as a reward for having recited a few of his verses. The admirable moral maxims with which his pieces abound, discover a great deal of the philosophical spirit, to the study of which he had given much application.

Father Brumoy has been at great pains to point out the characteristical distinctions of these three celebrated poets. Eschylus, says he, carried the language of tragedy to a grandeur bordering on bombast. His style is more pompous than even that of the *Iliad*.—Sophocles hit upon the just theatrical grandeur. He unites dignity and precision to his diction. His style is noble and majestic.—Tenderness and elegance distinguish the productions of Euripides; but they are less nervous and sublime than those of Sophocles. The first is a torrent that precipitates over rocks and through forests: The second is a pompous rapid river, whose waves roll along with majesty and force: The third is a gentle stream, not always flowing in an even course, but constantly meandering through beautiful flowery meadows. Shakespeare possesses a great deal of the spirit of Eschylus and Sophocles. The best of the other English tragic writers bear a nearer resemblance to Euripides.

Aristophanes, the comic poet, was cotemporary with Socrates and Euripides. We have yet preserved to us eleven of his comedies, in which he stands forth as a censor of government. His elegance and delicacy of expression, and particularly that Attic salt, of which the ancients were so fond, are most valued. He excelled in the ridiculous, and amused the Athenians with his satirical jokes; but his buffoonry is often extremely gross, and his obscenity still more so.

HERODOTUS is called the father of history, because

he is the most ancient author whose writings of that kind have been handed down to posterity. He was a native of Halicarnassus, a city of Caria; but having retired to Samos, he there composed, in the Ionic dialect, his history of the Greeks and Persians. He takes it up at Cyrus, and carries it on to the battle of Mycale under Xerxes, comprehending altogether a space of 120 years. But he has intermingled with it that of several other nations, particularly the Egyptians. His style is so flowing and so pure, that his books, on being publicly read at the Olympic games, obtained the names of the Nine Muses. It is true that he is full of digressions, and is reproached for his credulity, and the pleasure he takes in relating fables.* But it does not at all appear to have been his intention to confine himself

* Here I cannot avoid taking notice of a very curious circumstance mentioned by Herodotus, which, whatever other inference some readers may deduce from it, furnishes a strong proof of the fidelity with which Herodotus reported what he heard. The passage to which I allude occurs in his *Euterpe*, p. 104. of the second folio edition of his history by Stephanus. He is there relating the accounts received by him from the Egyptian priests concerning the duration of their country. Of this passage the meaning is in English this: "That during the period assigned by the Egyptians for the duration of their country, they assured Herodotus that four remarkable alterations had happened in the course of the sun, which had risen twice in the same point where he was then setting, and had set twice in the same point where he was then rising." Herodotus reports this tradition, without intimating his own opinion either as to the possibility or impossibility of what the Egyptians asserted. It is apparent that the Egyptians themselves derived this notion merely from tradition, without understanding the reason of the phenomenon of which they spoke, for if they had comprehended the cause of the phenomenon, they must have clearly understood that it furnished incontrovertible evidence of the duration of their country from a period more amazingly remote than what they assigned to it. In fact, it is now well known, and universally admitted, that in a very long period of time, no less indeed than 25,920 years, the phenomenon here ascribed to the sun actually takes place, in consequence of a motion called by astronomers the procession of the equinoxes. Thus, at the distance of 12,960 years from the present time, the sun will appear to rise in the same point of the heavens where he now sets, and to set where he now rises; and in 12,960 years more, or in the whole period of 25,920 years, he will complete

to undoubted certain facts. He had formed himself on the model of the first poets, and thought it sufficient if he kept within the bounds of probability. It must be confessed, however, that he always carefully distinguished between certainty, probability, and fable. In his time flourished the most famous poets; and the praises of Sophocles and Euripides were everywhere resounded. Herodotus, on his side, pursued a new path to the temple of fame; and proposed to charm his countrymen with the beauty of his prose. It is reported of Thucydides, that on hearing the works of Herodotus read, he was so struck with admiration, that he shed tears of joy, and was seized with a noble emulation to acquire reputation by the same means.

Thucydides was likewise a celebrated historian. He was a native of Athens. We have already seen, that he was bred to the military life, and served as a soldier in the Athenian armies. It was about the commencement of the Peloponnesian war that he conceived the design of writing his history. Of the events of that war he had been an eye-witness till the eighth year of its continuance; when, upon an accusation of having failed to relieve Amphipolis, he was sent into banishment. During the period of his disgrace, which lasted twenty years, he composed his history. He is said to have spared no pains to obtain faithful and exact accounts of the most minute circumstances that occurred in each campaign. He carried on his history to the twenty-first revolution, and rise and set exactly where he rises and sets at present.

Hipparchus, on comparing an astronomical observation made by him 146 years before Christ, with an observation made 147 years before his, by Timocharis and Aristillus, found so striking a discrepancy, that he was led to suspect a peculiarity in the sun's apparent course, which had not before been adverted to. Hipparchus's opinion, however, went no farther than suspicion. Ptolemy of Pelusium, having repeated the same observation about 300 years after Hipparchus, discovered from the result of his observations, compared with the two preceding observations, that Hipparchus's suspicion was well founded: and posterior astronomical observations ascertained the fact even to demonstration.

first year of that war ; but we are indebted for that of the remaining six years of it to Theopompus and Xenophon. He made use of his native Attic dialect, not only as the most pure, but likewise as the most nervous and expressive. He distributed his history into years. The subject of this war is not indeed so interesting as that of Herodotus, which describes the united efforts of all Greece against the formidable power of the Persians, while that of Thucydides is confined to the quarrels of the Grecian states among themselves, in which they exerted their utmost efforts to ruin one another. But it was not the fault of the historian, that he was witness only to such melancholy events. It is likewise true, that this historian has not imitated Herodotus, by interweaving episodes and digressions in his history ; for truth being his sole object, he did not think himself at liberty to mix it with fable. With respect to his style, it is elevated, manly, and correct. His diction is so close and nervous, that every word almost is a sentence.

As the style of Herodotus is sweet and flowing, so that of Thucydides has a great deal of precision and vehemence. The former, according to Cicero, is like a smooth river, rolling its waters along with ease and majesty ; the latter, like an impetuous torrent, hurrying on with rapidity and force. His reasoning is strong and profound ; his reflections are just, and always seasonable. Unprejudiced in favour of his native country, one would imagine him to be of neither of the countries whose actions he describes ; for never did historian write less from prejudice or passion. His precision, it is said, renders him often obscure ; but this fault is overlooked in favour of his veracity, there being no Greek historian more exact or more impartial.

He is further found fault with, for having put into the mouths of his heroes, orations too finished and regular to have been produced in the hurry and heat of action. But they are so eloquent and char-

acteristical, that we are at little pains in examining minutely whether they were spoken precisely in that form or not.

Of *Xenophon* we shall have occasion to speak at great length in the body of our history. He was born at Athens. Having engaged, when very young, in the army of the younger Cyrus, the brother of Artaxerxes, he had the honour of being the chief conductor of the famous retreat of the 10,000 Greeks back to their native country. After his return he served as a soldier till the time of Agesilaus, when he was banished by the Athenians on an unjust suspicion of favouring the Lacedemonians, because he always expressed a high opinion of the Spartan laws. *Xenophon* having thereupon retired to Scyltonte, there composed his works; namely, The *Cyropedeia*, or, history of Cyrus the Great; The Expedition, or, Retreat of the 10,000 Greeks; and, The Continuation of the History of Thucydides, from the return of Alcibiades into Attica to the battle of Mantinea, comprehending a space of forty-eight years. These works display a vast extent of genius and learning; and clearly evince the writer to have been a skilful commander, a judicious philosopher, and an elegant historian. His style is so pure, so harmonious, and so sweet, that he merited the appellation of the Athenian Bee: it is, at the same time, wonderfully simple. But notwithstanding this simplicity, he has maintained all the historical dignity. Cicero pronounces the eulogium of this admirable writer in these five words: “*Xenophontis voce musas quasi locutas;*” so many graces did that great orator discover in the style of this author! It is a question among the learned, whether his *Cyropedeia* ought to be looked upon as a real history, or only as a philosophical romance. The latter opinion is maintained by the ablest critics; and, indeed, the arguments adduced by them appear so solid and convincing, that we are surprised the mat-

ter should continue longer doubtful. He died at the age of ninety years.

Isocrates, the celebrated orator, was a native of Athens, and received his education under the greatest masters. The weakness of his voice, and his natural bashfulness, not permitting him to speak in public, he applied himself at first to private composition, choosing for his subjects questions of polity and government. He likewise composed pleadings for the use of others. Afterwards he opened a school of eloquence, in which the greatest orators of Greece were formed. The success of this establishment procured him both a high reputation and a great fortune; for he was attended by a number of scholars, who rewarded his pains with very handsome gratuities. He likewise received large presents. Nicocles king of Cyprus, for one oration that bears his name, gave him twenty talents. The character of his style has been excellently pointed out by Cicero. "Isocrates's eloquence," says he, "is sweet and agreeable, replete with ingenious arguments, and harmonious periods;" but, in his opinion, it is more proper for imaginary composition than for real practice. He was the first that introduced into the Greek language, numbers, cadence, and harmony. He was extremely careful, perhaps too much so, about the arrangement of his words. It must be confessed, however, that the love of probity and virtue distinguishes his orations, which are uniformly calculated to inspire both princes and subjects with truth, honour, and a love for the public happiness. The grief which the loss of the battle of Cheronea gave him, put a period to his life in an extreme old age. His connection with Philip may be justified from his ignorance of his real character. Plutarch blames Isocrates for having consumed that time which he ought to have dedicated to the service of the commonwealth, in arranging words and sentences. But this criticism is rather too severe. Isocrates had by no means received

from nature talents proper for public business. He was indeed the best rhetorician of his time; but he was rather qualified for the college than for the camp.

Of the orator *Eschines* we shall have occasion to speak more fully in the sequel.

Lysias, another famous orator, shone at Athens in the time of Socrates; and was so much interested in the fate of that wise man, that, upon his being brought to trial, he insisted with him to make use of an oration that he had composed for him with the utmost care and ingenuity. He was always considered as one of the finest orators of Greece. *Lysias*, says Cicero, wrote with extreme elegance and precision; and Athens might boast of possessing in him a perfect orator.

Iseus, another orator, was a scholar of *Lysias*, and imitated his master's style very exactly. His merit did not appear till after the Peloponnesian war; and, indeed, his chief glory seems to arise from his having taught the famous Demosthenes.

PHIDIAS, the celebrated Athenian sculptor, was the first that inspired the Greeks with a taste for beautiful nature and statuary, and taught them to imitate it. By the strength of his genius he had formed, in his imagination, a model of ideal beauty, at which he constantly aimed. His chief merit lay in the propriety and dignity with which he represented the gods. His master-pieces were, 1st, A statue of Minerva, of gold and ivory, thirty-nine feet high, which was placed in the temple of that goddess. 2^d, Another of Olympian Jove, accounted one of the seven wonders of the world, and of which he is said to have taken the idea from Homer. This work procured him an immortal fame: It struck the spectators with astonishment. He excelled likewise in painting, and drew at Athens the portrait of the famous Pericles.

Myron was another renowned Athenian sculptor. His copper cow is looked upon as his master-piece.

ZEUXIS, the famous painter, was a native of Heraclea. He excelled in colouring. It was he who painted some grapes so naturally, that upon the picture's being exposed in public, the birds came and pecked at them. Transported with joy, he immediately challenged Parrhasius, another celebrated painter, to produce any of his works that was comparable to this. Parrhasius painted a piece, apparently covered with a kind of stuff by way of curtain. "Come, draw that curtain," cried Zeuxis, "that we may see that master-piece." The piece was no other than the curtain itself. Zeuxis acknowledged himself surpassed; for, says he, "I only deceived the birds; Parrhasius has deceived even me."

Parrhasius was by birth an Ephesian, and the cotemporary and rival of Zeuxis, and has just been mentioned. They two passed for the most skilful painters of their time. Parrhasius excelled in design, in the justness of his proportions, in the airs of his heads, both lively and languishing, and in the dignity of his faces. His picture of the people of Athens, expressive of their good and bad qualities, acquired him great reputation.

Timanthus of Sicyon was another cotemporary of Parrhasius. His distinguishing talent was invention, and his master-piece the sacrifice of Iphigenia. In this picture, after exhibiting, in the face of the assistants, the different degrees of affliction felt by each, being unable to express that of Agamemnon, the father of Iphigenia, he covers his face with a veil, leaving to the imagination of the spectators to figure his distress. He is said to have borrowed this idea from the Iphigenia of Euripides; where the poet makes Agamemnon, on seeing his daughter led on to be sacrificed, throw his robe over his eyes.

THE
HISTORY
OF
ANCIENT GREECE.

BOOK III.

CONTAINING THE HISTORY OF THE THIRD AGE
OF GREECE.

From the conclusion of the Peloponnesian war to the death of Alexander the Great, a period of eighty-one years.

IN the beginning of this third age of Greece, we once more see the Spartans become, by the event of the Peloponnesian war, the leading people in Greece. This advantage they maintained for about thirty years, from the time of Lysander to that of Conon, who enabled his own countrymen, as well as the other Greeks, to shake off the domineering yoke of Sparta.

It is in this third age that we must fix the point of declension of the Grecian glory. We shall perceive, that the ambition of extending their conquests beyond the limits of their own country, was the first cause of the change of the national spirit of the Greeks. The plunder of the wealthy Asiatic cities that fell into their hands, produced the passion of avarice ; and their frequent intercourse with the Persians, whose magnificence excited their admiration, inspired them with the love of luxury. By these means the Greeks degenerated from their former virtue ; and the arts, promoted by the superfluous calls of luxury and wealth, alone profited by the change.

The mutual dissensions of the states of Greece was another cause of their ruin. The Persians, finding it impossible to subdue them by open force, attempted their destruction by fomenting among them discord and division; and for that purpose, effectually employed their gold and silver, which, in all ages, and in all nations, have been the bane of human virtue and felicity. By loading with presents those who possessed the chief influence in the different governments, they succeeded in arming against each other the two bravest states of Greece, who thus exhausted their strength in domestic quarrels. The Persians, however, were not destined to reap the fruit of their pernicious politics and corruption, which eventually turned to the advantage of a power with which Greece was more nearly connected. Philip king of Macedon made great progress in subduing that country; but its final subjection was reserved to swell the triumph of his son, the illustrious Alexander.

CHAP. I.

Affairs of Greece, from the conclusion of the Peloponnesian war to the peace of Antalcides.

THE thirty archons, established by Lysander in Athens, quickly gave way to their tyrannical inclinations; and, to enforce their decrees, obtained of Lysander an armed guard. This was the signal of their approaching tyranny. The richer citizens, and those whose virtue and influence might be a bar to their violent proceedings, were the first victims of their cruelty.

Still more to overawe the people, and to prevent a revolt, they armed 3000 of the citizens who were the best affected to their party. These availing themselves of their power to ruin and destroy their private enemies, Athens immediately became one general scene of blood and rapine. None durst op-

pose the pleasure of those wicked men. Critias, of all the thirty the most cruel and the most wicked, carried his oppression and injustice to such an extreme, that Theramenes, the only one of their number who was actuated with any regard for the welfare of his country, was provoked to oppose the despotism of him and of his other colleagues. This drew upon Theramenes the resentment of the tyrants; and Critias accused him, before the senate, of disturbing the public quiet. Theramenes managed his defence with such force of argument, that Critias, suspecting he might be acquitted, introduced into the senate some of his most devoted creatures, who from time to time industriously exposed to the eyes of the judges the points of the daggers, wherewith they were privately armed. The judges, thus intimidated, condemned Theramenes to death. Socrates alone, whose scholar he had been, ventured to oppose this sentence, and went so far as to attempt to hinder the guards from dragging Theramenes from the altar; but he was obliged to yield to superior force. He then exhorted the senators and people to avenge themselves on their presumptuous oppressors. Nothing but the merit of Socrates could have screened him from the resentment of the tyrants, who discovered no higher marks of their displeasure, than by prohibiting him from instructing the youth.

The fate of Theramenes was bewailed by every honest Athenian. Xenophon has immortalised the intrepidity with which that celebrated Athenian met death. He tells us, that when he had received and drunk the poison with the most striking calmness and fortitude, he poured out the remains of it on the ground, in the manner of the libations in sacrifices, with these words, "This for the virtuous Critias." Theramenes was well acquainted with the science of government. But his zeal in procuring the condemnation of the commanders who gained the battle of Arginusæ, remains an indelible blot on his memory.

Let us for a moment cast our eyes on the affairs of Persia. Darius Nothus died soon after the arrival of his son Cyrus at court. Parysatis, that young prince's mother, who was extremely fond of him, had exerted all her influence with the late king, to persuade him to declare Cyrus his successor in the kingdom, to the exclusion of his eldest son Arsames. But Darius obstinately refused to commit an act of such injustice. The new king, on his accession, assumed the name of Artaxerxes Mnemon. Cyrus, grown desperate at seeing his brother on the throne, vowed his destruction.—Of what crimes is not the heart capable which is actuated by ambition alone!

Artaxerxes getting notice of the design entertained against his life by his brother, ordered him to be apprehended. His life, however, was spared at the intercession of his mother; and Artaxerxes, instead of disabling Cyrus from creating further disturbance, was simple (or perhaps generous) enough to restore him to the government of the provinces formerly in his possession.

That ambitious prince immediately resolved to attempt the dethronement of his brother. With that view he employed Clearchus to raise an army of Greeks, under the pretence of assisting the Lacedemonians in a war they were meditating against Thrace: and to bind Lysander still more closely to his interests, he is said to have made him a present of a galley 200 cubits long, built of ivory, ornamented with gold. Alcibiades, who was at that time living in retirement in a remote corner of Phrygia, easily conjectured the real destination of Cyrus's warlike preparations. As Artaxerxes might be of great use to his affairs, Alcibiades formed the resolution of giving him intelligence of what was plotting against him; and for that purpose travelled into the province of Pharnabazus. We shall by and by see the consequences of this unnatural project of Cyrus.

In the mean time the unhappy Athenians, overwhelmed by their miseries, began to cast their eyes

upon Alcibiades for deliverance, and to concert measures for bringing him home. But the tyrants getting notice of their intentions, and dreading the embarrassment that might be thrown in the way of their projects by a man of such distinguished parts and activity, signified to Lysander, that it was necessary for the quiet and security of the government, so to dispose of Alcibiades, that he might not have the power of creating them any disturbance. In consequence of their remonstrances, Lysander required Pharnabazus to deliver him up dead or alive ; and pressed his demand with the utmost eagerness, seeming to insist upon it as an essential condition of the alliance between the Lacedemonians and Persians. Pharnabazus was mean-spirited enough to gratify Lysander, and gave the necessary orders for the apprehension of Alcibiades. The guards sent to seize him stood in such awe of him, that they had not courage to break into his house, to which therefore they set fire. Alcibiades, after endeavouring in vain to extinguish the flames, rushed through them sword in hand. The barbarians not daring even then to wait his approach, retired before him, but at the same time discharged at him a shower of darts, which killed him on the spot.

Thus perished, at the age of forty years, this extraordinary man, at the very season that his countrymen stood most in need of his assistance. His character exhibits a very singular assemblage of good and bad qualities. He was, by turns, the dread and the scourge of his own country, and of the other states of Greece; and experienced, through the whole course of his life, the most extraordinary revolutions and caprices of fortune. It is, on the whole, difficult to determine whether his best apparent dispositions deserve the names of virtues. For his conduct discovers more art and address than honour and integrity ; more vanity and ambition than real patriotism ; his constant aim being to live in a distinguished sphere. It was from private motives

of ambition that he persuaded his countrymen to engage in the Sicilian expedition, of which the miserable conclusion is justly regarded as the commencement of their ruin.

The Athenian tyrants no longer kept any measures. Every day was marked with murders and imprisonments; and universal dejection prevailed; and no citizen appeared hardy enough to attempt the deliverance of his oppressed countrymen. Socrates alone laboured, both by his discourses and example, to support the drooping spirits of the Athenians, and to prevent their giving way entirely to despair; behaving on all occasions with wonderful constancy and resolution, and plainly showing that he stood in no fear of the tyrants.—What a misfortune for those who occupy the foremost stations in life, to be insensible to honour, and regardless of the opinion entertained of them by the rest of mankind, and of the judgment that shall be formed of them by posterity; a disregard of reputation naturally producing a disregard of virtue.—This is the reflection of Diodorus Siculus upon the conduct of the thirty tyrants.

The most considerable citizens of Athens, to avoid the cruelty and oppression of those wicked men, abandoned their native city, and settled in great numbers in different parts of Greece. It will hardly be believed that the Lacedemonians, whose resentment might have been fully gratified by the miseries already brought upon the Athenians, prohibited on this occasion the other Greek cities from giving refuge to those unfortunate exiles. This mean, cruel jealousy of the Lacedemonians shocks us; and, instead of discovering any trace of the ancient Spartan magnanimity, throws an indelible stain on the character of their nation. Such is the power of conquest and ambition to corrupt the most virtuous hearts. Two cities only, Megara and Thebes, disregarded this ungenerous and inhuman injunction, and granted an asylum to such of the Athenians as implored their protection.

We at present contemplate the Athenians almost overwhelmed by their numberless sufferings; but we shall by and by see them rising above their misfortunes, and in a manner returning to a new life. Thrasybulus will immediately attract all the attention of the reader; being destined to restore Athens to her former splendour, and to display, in the sight of all Greece, how much even one man of virtue and magnanimity is able to perform. In a meeting of many of his fellow-citizens, assembled by Thrasybulus at Thebes, it was unanimously resolved to make one great effort to assert the liberty of their native country. Lysias the celebrated orator, who had been banished by the tyrants, levied 500 soldiers at his own expence. With this slender force Thrasybulus boldly marches into Attica, and seizes Phile, a strong fortress in the neighbourhood of Athens. The tyrants hasten to oppose him at the head of 3000 men, and give him battle; but their troops, unable to sustain the impetuosity of Thrasybulus's little army, are repulsed, and retreat to Athens. Thrasybulus having received a reinforcement of 700 men, falls upon the Spartan guard posted before Phile by the tyrants, and cuts off the greatest part of them.

The tyrants, alarmed, gave orders to massacre all the suspected Athenians who were able to bear arms, and made proposals of accommodation to Thrasybulus. He rejects their proposals; and having at last mustered up a small army of about 1000 men, advances to Pyreus, engages the tyrants who had marched against him, and obtains the victory. In this battle fell the wicked Critias. Thrasybulus calls aloud to the vanquished Athenians who were flying, that it is against the tyrants alone he is fighting, not against his fellow-citizens; and mildly upbraids them for opposing those who were come to restore them to their former liberty and independence. They are so much affected by this harangue, that, entering the city, they immediately depose the

tyrants, and confer the administration on ten of the principal citizens.

But this decemvirate proved no better than their former masters; and considering themselves as insecure while Thrasybulus held possession of Pyreus, they sent to Sparta to crave fresh assistance. Lysander is dispatched to their relief, who advances towards Pyreus with an army of Peloponnesians, and blocks up the harbour. Thrasybulus is soon reduced to great extremity for want of provisions. But Pausanias, enraged at the long prosperity of so wicked a man as Lysander, arrives with a fresh body of troops, intending rather to favour the Athenians than to reinforce Lysander. As there was a great number of Athenians in Pyreus, Pausanias commands them to retire home to the city; and, on their refusing to comply, attacks them. A sharp conflict ensues, in which the Athenians are worsted, and obliged to return to the city.

The Athenians, on being again upbraided by Thrasybulus, once more take courage, and re-establish the popular government. The remains of the faction of the tyrants withdrew to Eleusis; and attempt to renew the public disturbance. The tyrants endeavoured in vain to recover their authority. Being decoyed to an interview, they are all sacrificed to the public resentment; and Athens begins at last to enjoy peace and tranquillity. But in this civil war, raised and fomented by the wicked policy of Lysander, more Athenian citizens lost their lives than in any ten years of the Peloponnesian war.

The government of Athens is restored to its former footing; the ordinary magistrates are created; and Thrasybulus, still more effectually to establish the quiet of his country, engages the citizens solemnly to bind themselves by oath to bury all past injuries in oblivion. This was an action of the highest prudence; for as every citizen was entitled by law to prosecute those who had occasioned the

slaughter of his relations in the late bloody dissensions, the seeds of discord and hatred must have subsisted without end. This mutual amnesty, therefore, brought about by Thrasybulus, was the best and readiest method of establishing the public tranquillity.

The authority of Lysander had long ago arrived at its height; and insolence and haughtiness, the usual concomitants of superior power, were by him carried to the most excessive pitch. Whoever incurred his displeasure was sacrificed to his resentment; and to accomplish his designs, he spared neither fraud nor cruelty. Eight hundred of the principal inhabitants of Miletus had been by his order put to death; and the Lacedemonians were now degenerated to such a degree, that they basely permitted one of their citizens to commit such a monstrous act of cruelty and injustice with impunity. But every thing has an end.

Pharnabazus, harassed by the continual pillage committed in his provinces by Lysander, sent deputies to complain of him at Sparta. This procured a letter to be sent him by the ephori, commanding his return. He was confounded at the order; but obeyed, and pleaded his defence before the senate. But not enduring to live at Sparta in the undistinguished station of a private citizen, he soon left the city, under the pretence of making a journey to the temple of Jupiter Ammon, to discharge a vow. As he held in dependence the cities of Greece, by means of the government he had set up in them, and of his partizans, to whom he had committed all power, the kings of Sparta thought it expedient everywhere to re-establish democracy, and to banish the creatures of Lysander. Getting notice of these resolutions, and hearing at the same time of the endeavours of Thrasybulus to restore Athens to liberty, he suddenly returned to Sparta, to persuade the Lacedemonians to maintain the aristocratical go-

vernment in Athens. But his attempts were frustrated by the wisdom of Pausanias.

Let us turn our eyes for a moment from 401. the affairs of Greece to the operations of the younger Cyrus, in prosecution of the enterprise he had formed of depriving his brother of his crown and life. A remarkable example of the power of ambition over the human heart ! This unnatural attempt had for a long time employed the eminent abilities received by Cyrus from nature. He gave a most welcome reception to all those who came from his brother's court, and put in practice every art to detach them from his interests. He even prevailed with the barbarians to submit to a regular warlike discipline. But his chief dependence being on the valour of the Greeks, with whom the maritime situation of his provinces rendered him more particularly connected, he spared no pains to gain their affection. He recruited his garrisons with the best soldiers of the Peloponnesus, and levied an army of no fewer than 10,000 Greeks. In this he was much assisted by Clearchus, an exiled Spartan, to whom he had granted an asylum at his court.

About the same time several cities revolted from the government of Tissaphernes, and transferred their allegiance to Cyrus ; who, the better to disguise his intentions, sent bitter complaints to his brother against that governor. This behaviour had the desired effect, and persuaded Artaxerxes that Cyrus's preparations were solely against Tissaphernes. For that monarch was naturally of a mild, humane, generous disposition ; qualities incompatible with a suspicious temper, and apt to lull the man that possesses them into a state of too great security.

Cyrus, besides, had at his brother's court partizans devoted to his interest, who, by extolling continually the admirable qualifications of Cyrus, and hinting the necessity of a powerful empire having

at its head a man of distinguished courage and abilities, were artfully sowing the seeds of sedition and revolt. As Cyrus lay under the greatest obligations to Clearchus, and entertained a high opinion of his fidelity and understanding, he communicated to him his whole design. He possessed at the same time such influence with the Greeks, that the Lacedemonians commanded their fleet immediately to join the forces of Cyrus, and implicitly to obey his orders.

Besides the 10,000 Greeks, Cyrus had already levied among the barbarians an army of 100,000 men. Clearchus commanded the Grecian forces, composed of Lacedemonians, Achæans, Bœotians, and Thessalians; and the fleet, consisting of sixty vessels, was ordered to sail along the coast, and to attend the army. The famous Xenophon, then a very young man, accompanied Cyrus in this expedition.

With these forces Cyrus quitted Sardis, and advanced by hasty marches towards the upper provinces of Asia. Tissaphernes, at length acquainted with the real destination of Cyrus's expedition, posted to the court of Artaxerxes, and informed him of the danger wherewith he was threatened. In consequence of this intelligence, that monarch quickly assembled a numerous army. Cyrus, in the meantime, ran a great hazard of being stopped at the pass of Cilicia; out of which, however, he was extricated by a singular piece of good fortune. The Greek troops upon their arrival at Tarsus, beginning to suspect that they were to be led against the Persian monarch, refused to advance any farther; and it was with great difficulty, and by means of an augmentation to their pay, that Clearchus appeased them, and prevailed with them to proceed. Here likewise Cyrus explained to his other troops the real destination of his expedition.

Cyrus having entered the province of Babylon, assembled the Greek officers, and told them that it

was not want of other troops that had induced him to employ them, but a consciousness of their superior merit, which rendered a small number of them of much greater importance than a multitude of barbarians. He exhorted them therefore to approve themselves worthy the high opinion entertained of their conduct and bravery.

Artaxerxes, in the mean time, advanced at 401. the head of an immense army, amounting, as is alleged, to 1,200,000 men, commanded by Tissaphernes, Gobrias, and Arbaces. Besides these, there were in the army of Artaxerxes 158 chariots; while Cyrus, on the other hand, had no more than twenty. The two armies met at a place called Cunaxa. Cyrus himself drew up his army in battle order, and took his own post in the centre. On being entreated by Clearchus to avoid the dangerous part of the engagement; "What dost thou advise?" replied the prince: "while I aim at a throne, wouldst thou desire me to show myself unworthy of it?"

A thick cloud of dust, about three o'clock afternoon, announced the approach of the army of the king. His foot were disposed in square columns; and in the front were ranged the chariots armed with scythes. The king himself was in the centre, surrounded by 6000 chosen horse. Cyrus discovered the utmost eagerness and joy. He had ordered Clearchus with the Greek forces to advance to the centre. But as soon as they perceived the army of the king marching on in good order, they struck their javelins against their shields, and instantly rushed forward to charge the barbarians, who, unable to sustain their attack, gave ground and fled.

While Cyrus beheld with pleasure the troops of his brother flying before his Greeks, the person of the king struck his view. Immediately, therefore, crying out in a transport, "I see him!" he obeys the dictates of his fury; gallops up to him, followed by no more than 600 horse; kills with his own

hand the commander of the king's guard; pierces through those that were posted before him; at last reaches his brother, wounds the horse on which he rode with a dart, and throws him to the ground. Artaxerxes having mounted another horse, Cyrus aims a second blow at him; but is in his turn struck with a javelin discharged at him by the king, and is at the same time overwhelmed by a shower of darts from the king's attendants, which laid him dead on the spot. Several of the principal noblemen who fought by his side were slain: and Mezabates, by the king's orders, cut off the head and right hand of Cyrus.

A part of the king's army hearing of his death, betake themselves to flight, and Tissaphernes leads on the rest of the king's army against that part of Cyrus's which still kept its ground. The Greeks open their ranks and let him pass. Artaxerxes hearing that the Greeks had defeated his left wing, rallies his troops, and advances to attack them, who were as yet ignorant of Cyrus's death. The Greeks, apprehensive of being surrounded, place themselves in such a situation as to have their rear secured by a river; and seeing the king approaching against them, boldly march up to charge him. But the barbarians gave ground as before, and dispersed on all sides.

Thus fell the younger Cyrus, a victim to his extravagant and criminal ambition. Xenophon has given a finished picture of this prince. By his account, Cyrus surpassed all those of his years in bodily exercises. He fulfilled his engagements with the utmost punctuality and honour. He rewarded good offices with uncommon generosity and with singular prudence, always in proportion to real merit, never by the influence of real favour: and he conferred an obligation with the best grace in the world. He appeared to be only so far delighted with sovereignty as it enabled him to do good; and no otherwise exerted his great power than to ac-

comply with that end. By this behaviour he gained the love and esteem both of the Greeks and of the barbarians. But it is remarkable, that Xenophon takes notice only of the virtues of this prince, and is entirely silent with respect to his faults and vices; his unbounded ambition particularly, which prompted him to rise in arms against his brother, whom, if the event had corresponded with his intentions, he would have deprived both of his crown and of his life.

When the Greeks heard of the death of Cyrus, they were struck with consternation; and, instead of pursuing the enemy, turned all their thoughts to their own safety. But Artaxerxes having summoned them to lay down their arms, received for answer, That they would sooner die; that they were ready, however, to serve him as allies; but that they preferred liberty to life.

In the mean time, Arius, general of the barbarians in Cyrus's army, to whom the Greeks had offered the crown of Persia, sent them word, that he was on the point of retiring to Ionia; and that if they had a mind to accompany him, they must join him that night. They accepted his invitation, and were all, except 300, conducted that night into his camp by Clearchus. At their first setting out they made forced marches; but could not by all their diligence avoid the pursuit of the king, who at last came up with them. The Greeks, as soon as they perceived him, formed themselves in battle order; and by their excellent disposition and intrepid appearance, so intimidated the king, that he dispatched messengers to them with friendly professions, and to acquaint them, that they had orders to conduct them to certain villages, where they would be supplied with plenty of provisions. The Greeks accepted the offer, and passed three days in those villages.

Tissaphernes, in the mean time, paid a visit to the Greek commanders, by order of the king; and

in a long harangue told them, that, pitying the hardships and dangers to which they were about to expose themselves, he had obtained permission from the Persian monarch to conduct them back to their own country. Clearchus answered, that the Greeks had been led into Persia by Cyrus, without being informed of his intentions: that by his death their engagements with him were at an end: that they had by no means undertaken this expedition with a view of making war on the Persian monarch, or of creating him any disturbance; and that all they requested was a free passage to their native country. Tissaphernes having departed to report their answer to the king, returned the second day after, and told them, that the king did not intend to oppose their return; that he, Tissaphernes, would supply them with provisions: and as he was to set out immediately for his own province, would accompany them in their journey; and for that purpose would quickly join them.

The Greeks, after waiting for him twenty days, were at length joined by him, and set out under his conduct. But after this Arius and his forces pitched their camp at some distance from that of the Greeks. This produced some suspicions in the latter, who nevertheless continued their march. After passing the Tigris by a bridge of twenty-seven boats, they traversed the deserts of Media, leaving the Tigris on their left. But in the mean time the suspicions of the Greeks were daily increasing. Clearchus therefore having desired a conference with Tissaphernes, in order to come to an explanation, took occasion to remind him of the solemnity of the engagements he had come under to the Greeks. The satrap, by the strongest professions of sincerity, and the warmest appearances of friendship, effaced all his suspicions. But these professions were intended to disguise the most villanous perfidy.

As Clearchus no longer entertained any doubt of the satrap's integrity and honour, he was prevailed

upon, together with the rest of the chief officers of the Greeks, being four generals and twenty captains, to pay him a visit. As soon as the four generals, Menon, Proxenes, Agias, and Socrates, had entered the tent of Tissaphernes, with Clearchus at their head, they were instantly seized; and at the same time the twenty captains, who had remained without, were attacked and cut to pieces by 200 Persian soldiers, privately posted there for that special purpose. The five commanders were carried before the king, and by his orders beheaded. A shocking instance of cruel perfidy! Xenophon has given us the characters of those unfortunate commanders; of whom Clearchus and Proxenes were the most distinguished.

We may easily imagine the surprise of the Greeks at the long absence of their commanders; and the consternation occasioned among them by the news of their fate. They no longer entertained any doubt that their total destruction was resolved on. They found themselves at the distance of 500 or 600 leagues from Greece; hemmed in by a royal army; surrounded by mountains and deserts; and with no guide to lead them through the multitude of enemies that lay in their way.

In this general dejection, Xenophon, who had hitherto served only in the station of a cadet, displayed an extraordinary firmness of soul. Assembling the remaining officers, he told them that their courage was now their only resource. He advised them to appoint new officers to supply the places of those they had lost; to burn their tents and baggage; to begin their retreat immediately; and to march in the form of a hollow square, that so they might always be prepared to oppose the enemy from whatever quarter they were attacked: A surprising instance of what one man of genius and resolution is capable of performing. The Greeks, when on the point of dispersing, and falling into the hands of their enemies, are saved by the wisdom and activity of Xenophon. Perceiving that the expedient pro-

posed by him was the most eligible and safe they could follow, they immediately embrace it, and name new commanders.

Next morning, by the dawn, the troops being assembled, Xenophon, to confirm their courage, made them an harangue, wherein he intreated them to recal to remembrance the famous days of Marathon, Thermopylæ, and Platea, when their ancestors, with armies greatly more inferior to their enemies than they were to these by whom they were at present opposed, had nevertheless remained victorious; and to rest persuaded, that the gods, the avengers of perfidy, would support their defence. The words of Xenophon were applauded by the whole army, who unanimously approved of his advice, and instantly put it in execution.

After continuing their journey for some days, constantly directing their march towards the heads of the great rivers till they found them fordable; they were at last overtaken and harassed by the army of Tissaphernes, who had pursued them with all his forces. But the Greeks, changing their order of march, repulsed his attacks with very little loss on their own side; and it should seem that Tissaphernes very soon grew weary of pursuing them, for after this time there is no further mention made of him in the relation of Xenophon.

On their arrival at the river Tigris, finding it unfordable on account of its depth, they were obliged to traverse the mountains of the Carducæ, and forced to dispute their passage with the inhabitants of those hills, who had posted themselves on the higher grounds. It cost them seven days to make good their passage, which they at last effected with much labour and fatigue, after being obliged to abandon their beasts of burden, and the prisoners they had taken in their march; and after suffering a great deal from repeated attacks of the inhabitants of the country.

After crossing those mountains, they were stop-

ped by a very large river that ran along the foot of them, but passed it at last with much difficulty. Then entering the western quarter of Armenia, they forded the Tigris at its source. Teribazus, the king of Persia's governor in that province, permitted the Greeks to take what provisions they thought proper; but at the same time privately resolved to lay an ambuscade for them in a narrow defile, between some mountains through which their road lay. The Greeks, getting notice of this design, prevented him, by taking possession of the pass before him, and beat off the soldiers sent against them.

After this, having crossed the Euphrates, they were obliged to march through snow from five to six feet deep. This part of their journey was attended with great hardships, and many of the soldiers perished by the severity of the cold and the great fatigue. After passing the snow, they came to certain villages, consisting of huts dug under ground, where they rested several days. Recommencing their journey, they soon arrived at the river Araxes or Phases. This river being here unfordable, they were obliged to march about through the mountains, where they were opposed by the Phasians and Chalybes, whom they forced at last to retire.

After passing through the country of the Chalybes, they came to a very high mountain; whence getting a sight of the sea, they were seized with an excess of joy. They had still, however, the mountains of Colchis to traverse, and to defend themselves against the barbarous inhabitants. But by the skilful disposition of the army by Xenophon, they opposed and dispersed those barbarians. Then falling down into the plain, they arrived at certain villages, where they found great plenty of provisions, and rested some days. In a few days more they reached Trebizond, a Greek colony, where they halted a month. Here they celebrated divers sorts of games with much joy, and paid the vows they had made to the gods in case of their safe return.

After deliberating whether they should proceed from this place to Greece by sea, they came to a resolution to transport only their old and sickly men in that way, because they could not find shipping sufficient to carry the whole army. The rest continued their route over land. On arriving at Cerasus they reviewed their forces, and found them to amount to 8600 infantry, out of 10,000 that had undertaken the retreat; but of their horse only 40 remained. Coming to Cotyora, and being informed by the inhabitants, that if they proceeded farther by land, they should meet with several rivers and defiles very difficult to be passed, they accepted of the ships offered them by the Cotyoreans, which landed them next day at Sinope, a Milesian colony in Paphlagonia.

The soldiers, seeing themselves now so near their native country, became desirous of obtaining some plunder before their arrival. With this view, they informed Xenophon of their intentions of creating a commander-in-chief; all their measures having been hitherto determined by the plurality of votes in a general council. At the same time, they intimated their intention of conferring that honour on him. On this occasion, Xenophon, sensible of their intention, and desirous to keep himself disengaged from their scheme, represented to them, that if they were resolved to create a commander-in-chief, it was highly proper that a Lacedemonian should fill that station, as that state at present occupied the foremost rank in Greece. But perceiving them to be by no means satisfied with this reason, but on the contrary obstinate in their choice of him, he was forced at last to tell them, that he had consulted the gods on the subject, and found them averse to his undertaking the command. This effectually freed him from further solicitation for the present; and the choice of the Greeks next fell upon Chryso-phorus, a Lacedemonian.

The soldiers beginning to indulge their desire of plunder, their new general interposed, and prohibit-

ed them from plundering the Greek colonies. This produced mutinies and discord in the army, and laid them under the necessity of dividing into three bodies; the first of which, consisting of the Peloponnesians, to the number of 440 men, was commanded by Licon and Callimachus; the second, consisting of 2100 men, by Chrysophorus; and the third, of the same number, by Xenophon. Having procured shipping from the inhabitants of Heraclea, they embarked at different times, and landed at Chrysopolis. This being a very rich town, the soldiers resolved to pillage it: But upon Xenophon's representing to them, that by so doing they should draw upon themselves the resentment of the Lacedemonians, many of whom were settled there, they relinquished that design.

From Chrysopolis, therefore, they marched, under the conduct of Xenophon, to Salmydessa in Thrace, upon a pressing invitation from Seuthes, the sovereign of that country, who entreated their assistance to recover his dominions; and the more effectually to prevail with them to comply with his desire, promised them a great reward. But after they had performed the service for which he wanted them, he broke his word, and refused to give them any thing; and though Xenophon complained grievously of his injustice, he obtained no redress. This Seuthes was an avaricious prince, entirely influenced by a minister void of all faith and honesty, whose only aim was to increase his own private fortune.

In the mean time, ambassadors from Sparta waited on Xenophon, to inform him, that at the earnest entreaty of the towns of Ionia, which had embraced the cause of the younger Cyrus, and on that account dreaded the resentment of Tissaphernes, they had declared war against Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus, and had already dispatched an army into Ionia, under the command of Thymbron, to protect that country from being ravaged by the enemy.

The Greeks, under the command of Xenophon, hearing that the troops in that expedition received very large pay, engaged themselves in the same service, with the consent of their commander, who conducted them to Lampsacus by sea, their number then amounting altogether to no more than 6000 men. From Lampsacus he proceeded to Pergamus, and from thence to Parthenia, which is accounted the period of this celebrated retreat. Thymbron having there joined him with his troops, led all his army from that place against Tissaphernes.

Thus ended the famous expedition of the 10,000 ; who, in spite of the numberless difficulties they had to encounter at almost every step, performed in the space of little more than four months, counting from the period of the battle of Cuxana to their arrival at Pergamus, a march of about 1900 miles. This retreat, the most extraordinary recorded in any history, is extremely admired by the masters in the art of war, for the boldness of the undertaking, for the skill with which it was conducted, and for the successful event. For in spite of the difficulties of every kind that seemed to oppose their return, they were so lucky as to reach their native country victorious.

To return to the progress of our history.—The Lacedemonians were now meditating the extension of their conquests beyond the bounds of Greece. But before entering upon that subject, the order of time requires us to mention the death of Socrates ; an event famous in history on several accounts. It happened two years after the expulsion of the tyrants, upon an accusation of not acknowledging the gods received and worshipped by the state ; of introducing a new religion ; and of corrupting the minds of the youth. It were improper hastily to slur over the fate of this celebrated philosopher, and not to take particular notice of his very remarkable character, and of the principal circumstances of his life.

Socrates was born at Athens in the year before

Christ 469. His father was a statuary ; a business to which Socrates at first applied with success. But the philosopher Criton having discovered his fine genius, called him off from that employment, and engaged him in the study of philosophy : a name then confined to the particular branch of it that treated of the heavenly bodies. But Socrates being soon disgusted with this study, as well on account of the difficulties attending it, and the uncertainty of its conclusions, as of its small utility in human life, applied himself to another sort of philosophy, namely, the knowledge of man. For this purpose, he carefully studied the passions, and laboured to ascertain, on solid principles, the notions of good and evil. Hence he is justly regarded as the father of moral philosophy. That science was by him stripped of the mystery and austerity in which it had been till then involved ; and he inculcated its precepts with candour, simplicity, and precision.

His exterior accomplishments were very unfavourable, and promised nothing less than genius or superior sensibility.—His method of arguing was very particular. He began with interrogating his adversary like one that desired to be instructed ; from his answers he deduced conclusions, the absurdity of which his adversary was obliged to acknowledge ; and in that manner he drew him on from one absurdity to another, till he brought him to acquiesce in the truth of the proposition he wanted to establish. His school gave birth to several sects ; of which the most celebrated was that of the Academicians. Xenophon, Aristippus, and Plato, were the most famous of his scholars, particularly the last.

The business of philosophy by no means interfered with his civil duties. He gave proof, on various occasions, of his patriotism and courage, and served in several campaigns during the Peloponnesian war with distinguished bravery. The virtues that principally distinguished his private character

were, temperance, integrity, and a contempt of riches. On seeing any extraordinary display of the means of luxury and magnificence, he used to felicitate himself that he had no occasion for such articles, and would exclaim, Of how many things stand I in no need! He inherited from his father but a very slender patrimony; which he soon lost, by lending it to one of his friends, who was unable to repay it. But his poverty was accounted by him rather an honour than a disgrace; and he obstinately refused to accept of presents of money frequently offered him by his friends. Archelaus, king of Macedonia, to induce him to go and live with him, made him very magnificent offers; which, however, Socrates rejected without hesitation. His virtue was attended with no tincture of austerity: on the contrary, he was remarkably cheerful, and in his conversation displayed all that sweetness and affability that constitute the principal charm of society.

Xenophon and Plato, both his scholars, are those who furnish us with most of the particulars relating to his person and disposition. His distinguishing characteristic was a perfect tranquillity of mind, which enabled him to support with patience the most troublesome accidents of life. He used to beg of those with whom he usually conversed, to put him on his guard the moment they perceived in him the first emotions of anger; and when they did so, he instantly resumed perfect composure and complacency. His wife Xantippe, a woman of the most whimsical and provoking temper, afforded him sufficient opportunity of exercising his patience, by the revilings and abuse with which she was constantly loading him.

He pretended to be accompanied by a genius or familiar spirit, that counselled and directed him in all his matters, and prevented him from undertaking any affair that might turn to his disadvantage. But this genius was certainly nothing else than the accurate discernment and prudent foresight bestow-

ed on him by nature, and improved by unremitting observation, which enabled him to judge of the consequences of actions ; and which he ascribed to the suggestions of his superintending genius, with a view, no doubt, to induce his friends to hearken to his advice more readily and implicitly. It was his intimate knowledge of the human heart and passions, aided by much experience in life, that gave him this seeming spirit of prophecy ; and as he delivered his pretended oracles with a mysterious air, and all the positiveness and enthusiasm of a man inspired, it was generally believed that his knowledge of futurity was certainly suggested to him by a familiar spirit.—By the same means, it were no very difficult matter for every wise and prudent man to play the prophet. Several other great men of antiquity, from the same motive, affected the same character.

In the mean time, the fame of the extraordinary wisdom and virtue of Socrates quickly spread abroad, and he was by the Delphic oracle declared the wisest of men. This response was obtained by his scholar Ctesiphon. Socrates possessed, in a supreme degree, the talent of reasoning. His principal employment was the instruction of the youth ; an object to which he dedicated all his care and attention. He kept, however, no fixed public school ; but took every opportunity, without regarding times or places, of conveying to them his precepts, and that in the most enticing and agreeable manner. His lessons were so universally relished, that the moment he appeared, whether in the public assemblies, walks, or feasts, he was surrounded with a throng of the most illustrious scholars and hearers. The young Athenians quitted even their pleasures to listen to the discourses of Socrates ; of which what we have mentioned above of Alcibiades is a signal proof.

His lessons were of the most important use to his countrymen, to such of them particularly as aspired at public employments. He laboured chiefly to inculcate temperance, continency, and the other vir-

tues of private life, to inspire them with the principles of integrity and justice, with love for their country, and with a high idea of the power and goodness of God. His discourse with Euthydemus upon Providence, transmitted to us by Xenophon, is, on several accounts, a piece of inestimable value; and clearly shows that Socrates acknowledged the universe to be the work of one sole Being, whose attributes were infinitely superior to those commonly ascribed to the heathen deities. From his other discourses, too, it is sufficiently apparent, that he secretly entertained a thorough contempt for all the pagan divinities, which he looked upon as the production of the poets; and that he had arrived at the knowledge of one true God.

It was a principal object of Socrates's attention, to put the youth on their guard against a set of presumptuous men known by the appellation of sophists, who assumed the name of philosophers, and, in the eye of the world, gave themselves airs of great importance, appearing always attended with a great number of scholars, to whom they sold their instructions at a very dear rate. They pretended to be adepts in every science, and boasted of being able to argue immediately, and without hesitation, on any subject. Socrates laboured to discredit those boasters in the opinion of his countrymen. He induced them, by an appearance of extraordinary candour, to answer his questions, which seemed to be very simple; and then, by his admirable skill in dialectics, he very soon confounded their reasoning. He likewise industriously exposed the vices of those quacks in science. By these means he so exasperated them, that they united their endeavours to destroy him, and were very active in procuring his condemnation.

Long before his death, they had prevailed with Aristophanes the comic poet, to revile him
424. on the stage, in his play of "The Clouds;" wherein he introduced him talking impiously

and impertinently of the gods. This was no doubt done with a view, both to try the disposition of the people with respect to Socrates, and at the same time to render him ridiculous and hateful in their opinion, that they might afterwards be the more easily persuaded to promote the malicious attempts of his enemies. But the war against Syracuse, and the subsequent misfortunes that came upon the Athenians, suspended the execution of their greatest design.

The city, however, had no sooner recovered its tranquillity, than Melitus exhibited a formal accusation against Socrates, consisting of the following heads: *1mo*, That Socrates rejected the established divinities of his country, and laboured to introduce new deities in their place; *2do*, That he corrupted the youth, teaching them to despise the settled laws and order of the commonwealth; to be disobedient to their parents; and to censure the government.

Such were the principal branches of the accusation brought by Melitus against Socrates; confessedly sufficient, if proved, to infer a capital punishment. But it was easy for Socrates to refute them. For he had now employed himself, for the space of forty years, in instructing the youth in the sight of all his countrymen; during which time no person had ever observed any circumstance in his lessons, that could afford a handle to such an accusation. His friends, however, exerted themselves in his favour. The orator Lysias bestowed great labour, and employed all his art in composing a pleading for him. But Socrates, thinking it unsuitable to his character, declined to make use of it. Nor would his magnanimity permit him to descend to act the part of a suppliant, or to employ the means commonly practised in those days, to incline the judges to pity; such as parties coming before them with their wives and children. He appeared before his judges with the modest confidence inspired by innocence, and behaved in every particular with the most striking magnanimity.

Plato has preserved to us, under the title of “The Apology of Socrates,” the chief arguments adduced by him, in answer to the accusation of Melitus; of which we shall endeavour here to deliver the substance. *1mo*, He affirmed, that he had been often seen offering sacrifices to the gods, both privately in his own family, and publicly in the temple. *2do*, That in listening to the suggestions of a particular spirit, or divinity, he introduced no novelty into religion: since all other men who consult the flight of birds, and the appearance of the entrails of beasts, thereby shew their belief in divination, and a firm persuasion that the gods do, in different ways, discover their will and pleasure. *3tio*, That so far from employing himself about impious researches into natural causes, the sole object of his study and instructions had been to fix the proper standard of manners, and of the conduct of human life. *4to*, That so far from teaching dangerous doctrines to the youth, he called upon such of his scholars as happened to be present, to bear testimony, that he had uniformly and zealously enforced the practice of virtue, endeavouring on all occasions to persuade them, that it was of infinitely more importance to apply their care and attention about their minds, and what passed within their breasts, than about their bodies, or any temporal acquirements; that wealth did not bestow virtue; but that virtue was the surest road to wealth, as well as to every other valuable enjoyment in life. *5to*, That if his having seldom assisted at the public assemblies of the people, when deliberating on the affairs of the republic, were imputed to him as a fault he referred to his behaviour in the different campaigns in which he had served, as sufficient demonstration of his zeal for the welfare of his country; having bravely and faithfully maintained the posts committed to him at Potidea, Amphipolis, and Delium: and he put them in mind, that in the senate, he has opposed to his utmost the sentence pronounced against the

ten commanders, after the engagement of Arginusæ. But he acknowledged, that the familiar spirit which had attended him from his infancy, had always restrained him from meddling with the political business of the republic; and he expressed his belief, that if he had despised its suggestions on that head, he should long ago have forfeited his life; having observed, that whoever is imprudent enough to oppose the will of a whole people, when bent on committing injustice, seldom does so with impunity. *Lastly*, That his neglecting the arts commonly practised to move the compassion of the judges, was by no means an effect of presumption, but proceeded from a persuasion of its being improper to attempt to procure an acquittal by such expedients; because it is the duty of judges to do justice by obeying the law, not to violate the law from motives of favour or compassion. That he had uniformly taught, that not to account death an evil, was an effect of virtue; and, at his age, it were highly improper to belie the lessons he had so often given on the contempt of death. That he entertained a more thorough persuasion of the existence of a Deity than his accusers; and, on the whole, that he referred his cause to the gods and to his judges.

Socrates pronounced this discourse with a firmness and intrepidity worthy his greatness of soul; appearing rather to dictate to his judges than to plead before them. But his undaunted behaviour irritated the judges, who would have been better pleased to see him do homage to their power by timorous and submissive behaviour. By a plurality of voices, therefore, they declared him guilty; but did not, by their first sentence, determine the punishment. In such a case, the criminal had a privilege of choosing any one of the different punishments enacted for his offence, and was entitled to require an alleviation even of that. But Socrates thought it unworthy his character to take advantage of this indulgence, though he had it in his power to insist on being punished

either by imprisonment or a fine. But to avail himself of this privilege might, he said, be interpreted to be an acknowledgement of guilt; and he added, that if he were to choose the requital he thought he merited, he should insist on being maintained, for the remaining part of his life, in the Prytaneum, at the public expence, since he had constantly employed himself in the service of his country, by inspiring his fellow-citizens with the love of virtue.

The judges, provoked at his indifference, condemned him to die by drinking the juice of the hemlock. This sentence did not at all shake the fortitude of Socrates, firmly persuaded that guilt is the only evil of which a wise man has reason to be afraid; and choosing rather, says Quintilian, quietly to resign the few years of life he had yet a probability of enjoying, than by a mean submission, or pusillanimous conduct, to throw a blemish on the glory of his past life. "I am going," said he to the judges, "by your sentence, to suffer death, a punishment denounced against me by nature at that instant of my coming into the world; but my accusers are, by the sentence of truth, condemned to the stings and remorses of a guilty conscience."

Socrates spent the thirty days that intervened betwixt his sentence and death, in conversation with his friends; and in spite of the painful expectation of the fatal moment, uniformly behaved with the same calmness and fortitude. The evening before his death, he gave a stronger proof still of his magnanimity; for upon being informed by Crito, the most intimate of his friends, that he had an opportunity of escaping from prison, with the connivance of the jailor, who had been gained over for the purpose, he absolutely refused to avail himself of that expedient; telling him, that he esteemed himself happy to be deprived of a life which was beginning to be a burthen to him.*

Plato relates, at great length, the various motives

* He was then sixty-nine years old.

urged by Crito to persuade him to make use of the means of preserving his life, which the endeavours of his friends had procured for him. He set before his eyes the injustice of the sentence ; and argued, that it was his duty to preserve his countrymen from the guilt of putting to death an innocent man ; that his children stood in need of his protection, &c. &c.—Socrates, in answer, proved to him, that a man condemned to die, though unjustly, is guilty of a crime, if he withdraw himself from the punishment inflicted on him by the laws and judges of his country. A doctrine, however, that will find few partizans ; for, in such a situation, the love of life, strengthened by the idea of injustice, generally outweighs such refined considerations. He further demonstrated to him, that every unlawful act, be its motives or consequences ever so laudable, is criminal in him that commits it, even though directed against those who have injured him ; in other words, that it is a crime to return evil for evil ; but, with respect to his own particular case, he demanded what answer he could make to the laws of his country, for flying from the punishment now by them imposed on him ; against which, even the plea of returning evil for evil would not apply. This is heroism in all its purity. Crito, unable to refute the arguments of Socrates, was obliged to yield to inflexibility.

The day he was to suffer arriving at last, was spent by him, as usual, in conversation with his friends. The immortality of the soul was that day the subject upon which they discoursed. The substance of their reasoning on this point is contained in the dialogue of Plato entitled *Phedo*. Socrates there adduces all the arguments that, in his opinion, establish the immortality of the soul, and refutes those insisted on to maintain the contrary doctrine. He shows, that the desire of death entertained by a wise man, must principally arise from his wishing to enjoy the happiness awaiting him in another life.

But he argues, that as man is entirely dependent on the will of that Supreme Being who has created him, and placed him in the station he here occupies, he must not therefore quit it without the permission and command of that Supreme Being. He concludes his reasoning on the immortality of the soul with this argument, that, supposing the reasons urged in support of each side of this question to appear of equal weight, a wise man will embrace that conclusion which seems to be attended with least hazard and most advantage.

Socrates next proceeds to deduce several consequences, on the supposition of the certainty of the immortality of the soul. He thinks there must be a final judgment of the virtuous and the wicked;—that punishments must be inflicted on the latter;—an eternal residence, full of happiness, appointed for the former;—and a state of purification between the two, where those who have been guilty of more heinous transgressions, shall, for a time proportioned to their iniquities, suffer condign punishment, and afterwards enter into happiness.

Cicero has described, with great elegance, the lofty sentiments and magnanimous behaviour of Socrates at his death. While he held the fatal cup in his hand, he declared, that he considered death not as a punishment inflicted on him, but as a help furnished him of arriving so much sooner at heaven. He gives it as his opinion, that on the departure of our souls from our bodies, there are two passages for conducting them to the places of their destination; one leading to that state of purgatory before mentioned, which receives those souls that, during their residence on earth, have contaminated themselves with many great crimes; the other leading to the happy abodes of the gods, which receives the souls of those who have lived virtuously in this world.

When Socrates had finished his discourse, he bathed himself. His children being then brought to him, he spoke with them a little, and then desir-

ed them to be taken away. The hour appointed for drinking the hemlock being come, they brought him the cup, which he received without the smallest emotion, and then addressed a prayer to the gods. It is highly reasonable, said he, to offer my prayers to the gods on this occasion, and to beseech them to render my departure from earth, and my last journey, happy. Then he drank off the poison with amazing tranquillity. Observing his friends, in this fatal moment, weeping, and dissolved in tears, he reproved them with great mildness ; asking them, whether their virtue had deserted them ? “for (added he) I have always heard, that it is our duty calmly to resign our breath, giving thanks to the gods.” After walking about a little while, perceiving the poison beginning to work, he lay
400. down on his couch, and a few moments after breathed his last. Cicero declares, that he could never read the account of the death of Socrates without shedding tears.

Soon after his death, the Athenians were convinced of his innocence, and considered all the misfortunes that afterwards befel the republic as a punishment for the injustice of his condemnation. When the academy, and the other places of the city where he had usually taught, presented themselves to the view of his countrymen, they could not refrain from reflecting on the ingratitude and cruelty of their treatment of the man who had done them such important services. They cancelled the decree that had condemned him ; put Melitus to death ; banished his other accusers ; and erected to his memory a statue of brass, executed by the famous Lysippus.

Evagoras, king of Salamis, the capital of Cyprus, deserves a place in the history of Greece. He was descended of the ancient kings of that island ; but a tyrant had usurped their throne, and made it dependent on the Persian power. Evagoras was born under the reign of that tyrant. He had received from nature a very graceful person ; and, from his

infancy, gave signs of the best and most valuable talents of the mind. When grown up, he was in great danger of being murdered by the tyrant; and was obliged for safety to retire from Salamis. But returning soon after, at the head of no more than fifty men, he dethroned the tyrant, and mounted the throne himself, with the approbation of his fellow-citizens. He immediately applied himself to raise his small kingdom to a flourishing condition; and made it his chief study to rule with justice. He had already acquired great reputation, when Conon, after the unfortunate engagement at Egos Potamos, chose his court for an asylum, where he contracted a most intimate friendship with Evagoras.

On that occasion Conon, commiserating the misfortunes of his country, had the address to prevail with Evagoras to second his endeavours for her relief; and they applied themselves to concert the most proper means for weakening the power that then aspired to the sovereignty of Greece. Evagoras perceiving, from his strict correspondence with the satrap of Asia, how troublesome and disagreeable the daily exactions of the Lacedemonians were become to the Persians, advised them to make Conon commander of their fleet, and to attack the Lacedemonians by sea.

Soon after, however, the affairs of Evagoras assumed a very different appearance. For, having attempted to reduce the whole island of Cyprus under his power, the Cyprians implored assistance of the king of Persia, whose interest it was to support their independency. The war was at first carried on solely between Evagoras and the islanders. But as soon as Artaxerxes Mnemon was freed of his war with the Greeks, he turned his whole force against Evagoras.

The Persian army consisted of 300,000 men, and their fleet of 300 galleys; while Evagoras could hardly muster up 20,000 soldiers and ninety galleys. But notwithstanding this vast inferiority in the

number of his troops, he made shift to defend himself against his enemies. He availed himself of every resource of military skill; and having, by means of his light frigates, sunk and destroyed the victualling transports of the Persian army, he reduced them to great straits for want of provisions. Receiving from Achoris, king of Egypt, a reinforcement of 60 galleys, with some money and corn, he defeated a detachment of the Persian land forces, and soon after obtained another victory at sea. But the Persian forces being still extremely more numerous than his, soon ruined his power, and laid siege to Salamis by-sea and land. Evagoras, seeing no prospect of any further resource, found himself under the necessity of suing for peace; which was granted him on the condition of his confining his government to the city of Salamis alone, and of paying an annual tribute.

His son Nicocles succeeded him. It was for this young prince that the famous Isocrates composed the oration, entitled *Evagoras*, from its being the eulogium of that king. In this piece the Athenian orator proposes *Evagoras* as the perfect model of a good king; and labours to prove, that fine parts and magnanimity are essential requisites to form a prince of that character. He represents *Evagoras* as a man of an excellent understanding; and he tells us, that, after arriving at the throne, that prince dedicated much of his time to reading, particularly to the reading of history: That he applied himself carefully to study the characters of men, that he might know how to employ them according to their talents: That he never resolved on any undertaking, without the advice of those who were most skilful in the particular business in agitation: That he attentively examined the nature of every form of government to discover its peculiar excellency: That he was a skilful politician, a brave commander, and though of distinguished personal dignity, yet of a mild and affable disposition; an affectionate parent,

a sincere and steady friend, and faithful to his engagements : That, by means of these excellent qualities, he gave a new form to the city of Salamis, and made it the residence of the arts and sciences. The orator concludes with exhorting Nicocles to imitate the example of his father.

History describes the reign of Nicocles as one of the most happy reigns; justice and the public advantage having been the objects of all his undertakings. Though at his accession to the throne, he found the funds of the state entirely exhausted, he would not impose any severe tax ; but by economy, and by retrenching unnecessary expences, he fully discharged all the public debts. He valued himself most on his virtue in private life, and studied, above all things, to keep his passions in subjection. He used to express his surprise at the small regard shown to the connexion by marriage, whose rights, though the most sacred of all, are wantonly and frequently violated, while the other engagements of society are scrupulously maintained. Isocrates makes Nicocles to express these sentiments in an harangue addressed to his people, wherein he explains to them the duty of subjects towards their sovereign. Isocrates afterwards composed another oration for Nicocles, in which he lays down excellent maxims on the art of government. This oration is most worthy of being read. One should be tempted to think that the ingenious author of *Telemachus* had thence borrowed his observations on the duty of a king. What is chiefly to be admired in this oration, is, that it contains none of the mean, fulsome, insipid flattery, with which works of that kind are commonly stuffed. His opinions are delivered with precision ; and the truth is nowhere obscured by artificial turns of expression. We learn from Plutarch, that Nicocles was so well pleased with the zeal, sincerity and eloquence of Isocrates, that he made him a present of twenty talents.*

* In the year 390, the Gauls defeated the Romans in the battle of Allia, and, pursuing their advantage, sacked and burnt Rome.

About the time that Artaxerxes Mnemon concluded the war against Evagoras, and another war against the Cadusians, appeared Datames, the most celebrated commander of his time. Cornelius Nepos, the writer of his life, prefers to him, in his military capacity, of all the barbarians, only Hamilcar and Hannibal. He was the son of Camizares, a Carian by birth, and governor of the province of Leucosyria, which lies between Cilicia and Cappadocia. Datames succeeded his father in that government. From the account of Datames, transmitted to us by the historian just cited, it appears, that he was hardly ever surpassed in the art of war. He seems to have been master of every branch of it; brave and intrepid,—skilful in stratagems,—fruitful in expedients on the most embarrassing occasions,—artful and quick in forming his plan of operations,—and active in carrying it into execution.

Having been commissioned to subdue Thius governor of Paphlagonia, who had revolted against the king of Persia, he not only avoided all the snares laid for him by Thius, but even found means to take him alive, together with his wife and children.

As Artaxerxes was very anxious to have Thius in his power, Datames resolved to surprise him agreeably with his prisoner. For this purpose he repaired privately to court; and having dressed Thius (who was of a long gigantic stature, and had an ugly face, with a long beard) very magnificently, and attired himself as a hunter, armed with a club, he conducted his prisoner along like some wild beast that he had caught, and in that manner presented him to the king of Persia. The whole city flocked to see so extraordinary a sight. Artaxerxes, delighted with the behaviour of Datames, and discovering his singular merit, appointed him general of a great army destined against Egypt. But before his departure on the Egyptian expedition, the king commanded him to endeavour to seize the person of Aspis, the commander of an army on the

frontiers of Cappadocia, who had revolted. In this commission, dangerous as it was, he succeeded, made Aspis prisoner by surprise, and carried him to Susa.

His extraordinary genius and valour created against Datames several enemies, who calumniated him to Artaxerxes, and rendered him suspected. Datames receiving intelligence of the danger that threatened him, quits abruptly the service of the king, retires with a few troops, seizes on Paphlagonia, joins Ariobarzanes, defeats the Pisidians, who had risen against him, and takes their camp. Artaxerxes, terrified at these exploits of Datames, sent against him into Cappadocia an army of near 200,000 men, under the command of Autophradates. Datames had hardly the twentieth part of that number; but as he excelled in the art of ranging an army, he disposed his men so skilfully, as to prevent their being surrounded, and at the same time to render the far greater number of the enemy of no use. By these means he put the royal army to flight, with prodigious slaughter.

The Persian general was equally unsuccessful in several lesser engagements that ensued; and at last he was forced to make advances for an accommodation. Datames, desirous of recovering the favour of Artaxerxes, for whom he had always retained an affection, listened to his proposals. But Artaxerxes, provoked at being unable, with all his mighty forces, to reduce a petty governor of a province, was base enough to employ treachery to destroy him. Datames at first was so lucky as to escape several ambushes that were laid for him. But Mithridates the son of Ariobarzanes, having been corrupted by extravagant offers made him by Artaxerxes, to free him of a man who had incurred his inveterate hatred by being able to resist him, took advantage of a moment when Datames was alone and unarmed in his company, to stab him with a sword.

Datames, to have arrived at as high a reputation as any hero of antiquity, wanted nothing but a

more conspicuous stage to act upon, and a poet or historian to record his exploits. It is indeed surprising, that the historians of those times have taken so little notice of a man of such distinguished abilities. But in all probability this has been owing rather to ignorance than design. His merit and exploits deserved to have been celebrated by a more copious historian than Cornelius Nepos. It is now time to resume the affairs of Greece.

We have already mentioned, that Thymbron was dispatched by the Lacedemonians into Ionia, to protect the cities of that country from the resentment of Tissaphernes. But Thymbron being soon recalled, on account of some misunderstanding, Dercillidas was sent thither in his place; who taking the command of the army at Ephesus, marched into the province of Pharnabazus, where the greater part of the cities of Ætolia opened their gates to him. He then concluded a truce with Persia.

The histories of that time are full of the praises of the prudence and heroism displayed by a lady of the name of Mania, the widow of Zenis, who had governed Ætolia as deputy under Pharnabazus, to whom he rendered signal services. Having lost her husband, Mania waited on the satrap, and begged, with the greatest shew of resolution, that he would entrust her with the power enjoyed by her husband, promising to serve him with the same zeal and fidelity. Her desire was granted; and she fulfilled her engagements most effectually; acting on all occasions with consummate prudence and resolution. She not only defended the places committed to her charge, but conquered others; and not content with making punctual payment of the customary tribute to Pharnabazus, sent him magnificent presents besides. She commanded her troops in person, and maintained the most strict discipline in her army. By these means she was of the greatest service to Pharnabazus, who on that account held her in the

highest esteem. This heroine perished by the dastardly treachery of her son-in-law Midias. That villain, stung with the reproaches thrown out against him for suffering a woman to command in his place, privately gained admittance into her apartment, and murdered both her and her son. But he did not long enjoy the fruits of his cruelty; for the cities of Ætolia were soon after subdued by Dercillidas, and Midias, falling into the hands of the conqueror, was stripped of the wealth and power which he had so unjustly usurped.

In the following campaign Dercillidas marched into the Chersonesus, and bestowed much pains on shutting up the isthmus, a neck of land about three miles broad. For that purpose he employed all his soldiers in building a strong wall, which secured the neighbouring cities from the sudden incursions of the barbarians. The Lacedemonians, regarding themselves now as the protectors and sovereigns of Greece, industriously laid hold of every opportunity of displaying their superior power and influence. Taking umbrage at the Eleans for entering into an alliance with the Athenians and Argives, they commanded them to relinquish the authority they had assumed over certain towns originally independent; and on their refusing to comply with this requisition, Agis marched against them, with an intention of laying waste their territory. The Eleans, apprehensive of his making himself master of their city, agreed to the conditions prescribed.

In the mean time, the famous Conon, who since the engagement at Ægos Potamos had lived a voluntary exile in the island of Cyprus, in the hopes of restoring the glory of his native country, which he was continually meditating, determined at last to apply to the Persian power for that purpose; and accordingly imparted his design to Artaxerxes by letter. That monarch immediately ordered 500 talents to be furnished to Conon for fitting out a fleet,

of which he at the same time appointed him commander.

About this time Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus, in spite of the secret jealousy and hatred with which they were animated against each other, united their forces against Dercillidas, and were on the point of giving him a total defeat in Caria, when Tissaphernes, who stood in the greatest awe of the Greeks, proposed terms of accommodation.

At Sparta, upon the death of king Agis, Agesilaus laid claim to the royal dignity, in preference to Leotychides, the son of Agis's queen, whom he affirmed not to have been begotten by Agis; and who, notwithstanding the dying acknowledgement of him by that king, was generally reputed a bastard. On this account, Agesilaus, supported by Lysander, and other principal Spartans, found little difficulty in obtaining himself to be declared king, in preference to Leotychides.

Agesilaus, educated in all the strictness of the Spartan discipline, where he had learned obedience before he came to exercise command, was by that means temperate, mild, and popular, and soon acquired the affection of his countrymen. His diminutive stature and lameness were amply compensated by a fine face, extraordinary vivacity, a bravery superior to all danger, and singular knowledge in the art of war. Naturally an enemy of flattery, he would not permit his picture to be drawn: saying, that his exploits, if ever he should perform any, would afford the best and most lasting monuments to his memory. Being of a very complaisant and obliging disposition, even to his enemies, he thereby obtained so high esteem and credit at Sparta, that the ephori thought it necessary to impose a fine upon him for having, as they said, acquired too great favour with his fellow-citizens: A sentence that bore a strong resemblance to the strange law of ostracism among the Athenians. Though on becoming king he succeeded of course to the estate and ef-

fects of Agis, Leotychides being declared a bastard, yet he shared them all with him and his relations, who were very poor; an action that rendered him still more highly esteemed by the citizens. Never did a king possess such absolute power at Sparta as Agesilaus possessed. This was in a great measure the effect of the deference and respect paid by him to the ephori, contrary to the custom of his predecessors in the regal dignity; who, regarding the ephori as their rivals in authority, took every opportunity to treat them with disrespect.

The Lacedemonians hearing that the king
396. of Persia was equipping a fleet against them, ordered Agesilaus to carry the war into Asia; giving him, by way of assistance, thirty Spartan officers, of whom Lysander was one, together with an army of 2000 chosen Helots, and 6000 soldiers furnished by their allies. The fame of the retreat of the 10,000 Greeks had every where inspired a high opinion of the Grecian valour, and gave the Greeks themselves additional confidence in their own strength. The Lacedemonians therefore thought it incumbent upon them to deliver their countrymen from their dependence on the barbarians.

Tissaphernes not having completed his preparations when he received information of the arrival of Agesilaus at Ephesus, had recourse to stratagem, and proposed to Agesilaus, that if he would abstain from committing hostilities, the Persian monarch would permit all the Greek cities in Asia to remain in the enjoyment of their liberty. Agesilaus having agreed to this proposal, a truce was concluded, and confirmed by the oaths of both parties. But the satrap nevertheless proceeded with his warlike preparations.

Agesilaus in the interval made a tour through the principal cities, with a view to redress grievances, and so put the government on a proper footing. But he was so piqued at the court every where paid to Lysander, as the person on whom the ruling men

supposed themselves chiefly to depend, that he could not help expressing his displeasure on that head to Lysander ; who, naturally vain, and accustomed of a long while to receive universal respect, paid little regard to the complaints of his king. Agesilaus, provoked at his insolent behaviour, affected to employ him in the least honourable pieces of business. Lysander thereby becoming sensible that he had at last met with a man capable of humbling him, contrived a pretence of returning to Sparta.

Full of resentment against Agesilaus, he formed a plan of opening a passage for himself to the throne. As only two branches of the posterity of Hercules in Sparta were understood to have right to the regal dignity, and as he himself was likewise believed to derive his descent from the Herculean stock, he thought it would be no difficult matter to prevail with the Spartans to extend the exclusive right supposed to reside in the two former branches to all the other descendants of Hercules ; flattering himself, that if he were able to accomplish that, no person would presume to compete with himself for the crown. He had been constantly meditating this scheme since he had first arrived at the height of his exorbitant power, which indeed was little inferior to that of royalty itself, and he had put in practice several contrivances to procure from the Delphic priestess a declaration corresponding to his views. But his whole plot for that purpose was frustrated, just as it was on the point of being executed. For Silenus, the young man who was suddenly to appear and to announce himself to be the son of Apollo, was seized with fear, and ran away. It was not discovered till after the death of Lysander, that he had been the author of this trick.

Tissaphernes having at last assembled all his forces, sent an insolent message to Agesilaus, commanding him to depart from Asia. The Spartan, incensed at the perfidy of the satrap, made a feint of leading his army towards Caria. Tissaphernes

followed him. But Agesilaus making a sudden turn, marched directly into Phrygia, took several cities, and acquired immense plunder. After dividing the plunder among his officers and soldiers, he retired to Ephesus for the winter; during which he obliged his men to practise various exercises, both to preserve them from disease, and to inure them to the labours of war; and to promote emulation, he distributed prizes among the most dexterous and successful.

When ready to take the field, he propagated a report of his intending to fall upon Lydia. Tissaphernes believing this to be a stratagem, and that his real destination was against Caria, advanced toward that province. But Agesilaus was as good as his word, and really marched towards Lydia; into which he penetrated as far as Sardis, where Tissaphernes commonly resided and kept his treasures. Thither the satrap hastened with his cavalry to oppose him. But Agesilaus knowing that his infantry was left behind, gave him battle, put the barbarians to flight at the first onset, made a great slaughter, and plundered their camp.

This victory of Agesilaus cost Tissaphernes his life. He was on that account accused to Artaxerxes of treason; and Tithraustus was dispatched to seize him. Tithraustus having taken the proper measures for executing his commission, surprised Tissaphernes while bathing, cut off his head, and sent it to the king. After this Tithraustus made Agesilaus many magnificent presents in the name of his master, accompanied with proposals of peace; by which the Persian monarch promised to grant entire liberty to the Greek cities of Asia, on condition of Agesilaus returning home. Agesilaus, however, refused to come to any final resolution without the approbation of the ephori. But till that should arrive, he, in compliance to Tithraustus, who had delivered the Greeks from such an inveterate enemy as Tissaphernes, agreed to lead his army into Phrygia, on

receiving thirty talents to defray the expences of his journey thither.

Agesilaus soon after received orders from Sparta, to take the supreme command of their fleet as well as of their army ; a charge never before intrusted with any one man. Agesilaus immediately issued orders to the inhabitants of the islands to furnish him with ten ships, of which he gave the immediate command to Pisander his father-in-law, an ambitious man, much inferior in parts to Conon, and by no means fit for so high a charge. Thus Agesilaus committed a fault too common among men in power, who often sacrifice the good of their country to the aggrandizement of their private families and connexions.

Agesilaus having marched into Phrygia, where Pharnabazus commanded, levied heavy contributions, and by that means got possession of vast wealth. Pharnabazus seeing his province on the point of being entirely ruined, desired to come to an agreement with Agesilaus, and for that purpose proposed a conference. This interview afforded a striking contrast between the luxurious pomp of Persia and the modest simplicity of Sparta. The satrap behaved to Agesilaus in the most respectful manner, and complained of the devastation committed in his country, in such gentle and pathetic terms, that Agesilaus was moved by his complaints, and promised to leave his province.

While Agesilaus thus spread terror through the provinces of Asia, the fame of his bravery and moderation attracted universal admiration. It was a very singular scene to see a man of a despicable figure, and poorly attended, addressed in the most humble terms by the lieutenants of the great king, and dictating his pleasure to them with a very laconic and absolute tone. The neighbouring states perceiving the admirable effects of the wise regulations established by Agesilaus in the other cities, vied with one another to procure his patronage ; and

his army increased so fast, that all Asia seemed desirous to put itself under his command. Agesilaus in the mean time resolved to attack the Persian monarch in the heart of his dominions, that he might make him feel the Grecian power, even on his throne, and disable him from giving Greece any disturbance in future.

Artaxerxes, alarmed at the progress of Agesilaus, finding all his efforts to oblige him to leave Asia ineffectual, resolved to create a diversion to the Lacedemonian arms, by promoting against them a confederacy among the other states of Greece, whom he knew, on the most authentic information, to be extremely uneasy and impatient under their subjection to Sparta. Timocrates was charged with the execution of this scheme. To accelerate its success, fifty talents of money were delivered to him, with which he was to endeavour to bribe the leading men in each city, that they might instigate their countrymen to take arms against the Lacedemonians; who indeed, by their overbearing behaviour, had but too well disposed the other states, whom they treated more like subjects than equals, to embrace such a measure. Timocrates, therefore, met with all the success in his negotiations that he could have desired; and the Thebans were the first who resolved to assert their independency.

The Athenians very soon joined the Thebans. Overlooking all former subjects of displeasure received by them from that state, they embraced this opportunity of recovering from their long humiliation, and, by the persuasion of Thrasybulus, granted the assistance demanded. On the other hand, Conon, who was in high favour at the Persian court, used all his influence to obtain an armament for the relief of his countrymen, and was extremely active in promoting the confederacy against Sparta. An opportunity of coming to an open rupture soon presented itself. A dispute having arisen between the Phocians and Locrians, about the property of a

small piece of ground, the Spartans, already displeased with the Locrians, resolved to support the Phocians; and for that purpose, ordered Pausanias to march and join Lysander, who was then in Bœotia with a few troops. But the Thebans, to prevent this junction, made a brave attack upon the troops under Lysander, obtained a complete victory, and killed Lysander himself in the battle.

Thus fell that renowned Greek, who raised his native city Sparta to a degree of power she had never known before, and entirely ruined that of Athens. It was matter of general surprise that he left no wealth behind him, considering the vast influence he had enjoyed, and the many opportunities of amassing riches that had been in his power. This contempt of wealth reflected honour on his memory, and plainly showed, that ambition was his sole motive of action. The excess of this passion, however, obscured the splendour of his extraordinary parts; for he must be allowed to have been an intrepid and skilful commander, a consummate politician, and of very artful address in managing the different tempers of men. He had, by these means, rendered himself as absolute in Sparta as in the cities of Asia. To his partizans and favourites his generosity was boundless, and his partiality excessive. He not only supported, but even co-operated with them in all their private schemes, however base, unwarrantable, or unjust; employing in their behalf every species of villany, and inflicting without remorse the most barbarous cruelties. To his enemies his resentment was implacable, never terminating but with their deaths. Fraud and cruelty formed the most striking features in his character. Vain, even to insolence, he desired to act on all occasions without controul. Accordingly, we have seen him endeavouring, to the utmost of his power, to eclipse even his king and master Agesilaus. We have likewise seen him discover the meanest jealousy to Callicratidas, whom, by the basest of arti-

fices, he endeavoured to throw into an embarrassment that might sully his glory. He was the worst enemy that ever Athens felt; and by establishing there the thirty tyrants, he was to her what Sylla after him was to Rome. His tyranny and oppression rendered Sparta odious to her neighbours.

When Pausanias returned to Sparta, he was accused of misconduct in the late expedition; and, though one of the two Spartan kings, was condemned to suffer death. But he avoided the cruelty of his countrymen by flight.

Let us now look after Agesilaus. In the midst of his preparations for leading his army into Persia, he received a letter from the ephori, commanding him to return to Laconia; for, by this time, Greece was all in arms. Agesilaus immediately wrote them an account of his former operations, and informed them of the favourable disposition of his affairs for attacking the king of Persia; but assured them, that since they thought his presence at home necessary, he was resolved to obey them without delay.

Historians have, with great justice, applauded the respect shown on this occasion by Agesilaus to the magistrates of his country; in obedience to whom, he stopt short in the midst of his successful exploits, which, in all probability, must have eventually subverted the Persian empire. By this behaviour, he undoubtedly discovered a very uncommon greatness of soul, and justified the saying of Pausanias, of whom we have been just speaking, "That at Sparta the laws governed the men, and not the men the laws." What a lesson for the members of some modern governments!

Before Agesilaus reached Sparta, his countrymen, attacked from every quarter, had several very severe shocks to sustain. The Athenians marched against them, followed by the Bœotians, Corinthians, and Thebans, forming altogether an army of 20,000 men. The Spartans, with an army of about 14,000

men, of whom the greater part was furnished by their allies, met the enemy near Lycion. The engagement was long and obstinate. But the Spartan valour prevailed at last, and snatched the victory from the Athenians, who, though deserted by their allies, kept their ground to the last.

While affairs were thus proceeding at land,
394. an important engagement happened at sea.

Conon, with a fleet of 100 ships furnished him by Artaxerxes, setting sail towards the Chersonesus with an intention to attack the Lacedemonian fleet, consisting of 120 ships, fell in with the latter near Cnidos, a city of Caria in Asia Minor. The Lacedemonians, who were commanded by Pisander, gained some advantages at first. But victory soon changed sides. The Lacedemonians were beaten and put to flight; and Pisander, after exerting the utmost valour, fell at last fighting bravely. Conon remained victorious, and took fifty of the Lacedemonian galleys. From that day forwards, the naval power of the Lacedemonians was continually on the decline.

It is remarked, that the ruin of the two states of Athens and Sparta was alternately occasioned by their haughty behaviour during their prosperity; the Lacedemonians having neglected to profit both by former experience and by the striking example lately set before their eyes by the Athenians.

Just as Agesilaus was on the point of arriving at Sparta, he received a message from the ephori, entreating him to march, with all haste, into Bœotia, where the army of the Lacedemonians and Orchomenians on one side, and that of the Thebans and Argives on the other, lay in sight of each other in the plains of Cheronea. Agesilaus arrived in time enough to take the command of the Lacedemonians, just as they were on the point of engaging. Xenophon, who was present at this battle, says, that of all the battles which had till now happened in his time, this was fought with the most desperate fury.

The Thebans were thrown into disorder, and Agesilaus attempted to cut off their retreat. But they immediately drew up their foot in a square column, the front of which baffled all the efforts of the Lacedemonians to break them. The engagement was very bloody. Agesilaus exerted prodigies of valour, received several wounds, and must certainly have been either killed or taken, had he not been rescued by fifty young Spartans, who that day fought by his side. The Lacedemonians, at length, finding it impossible to break the Thebans, opened their ranks to let them pass, and then attacked them in the rear. But the latter, proud of having hitherto repulsed the enemy, retreated very leisurely, and in good order, fighting all the while. Agesilaus, though wounded, refused to retire from the field of battle, till he had seen the dead carried off on their shields. Next day he erected a trophy as a monument of his victory.

At Sparta he was received with transports of joy. Untainted with the luxury and pomp of the country whence he was just returned, he retained his former simplicity both in his person and family; preferred the temperate austere life of the Spartans to the delicate luxurious manners of the barbarians; and, instead of the haughtiness and presumption of a victorious commander, displayed the most humble modesty of a private citizen.

On hearing the power of the Persian monarch highly extolled, and that prince himself honoured with the title of Great King; “in what respect (said Agesilaus) is he greater than I, if he be not more virtuous?” He set a higher value on the exercises that strengthen the body, and inure it to labour and fatigue, than on the horse and chariot races at the Olympic games, which, he said, were not a proof of bravery, but of riches. Having found, among the papers of Lysander, the detail of his plot against the two Spartan kings, he resolved to lay it before the citizens. But he was dissuaded from this step

by a prudent man of his acquaintance, who advised him to let Lysander rest in his grave, and to bury along with him a very artful discourse found by Agesilaus, which Lysander was to have addressed to the Spartans.

Agesilaus soon after marched away with his land-forces, and laid siege to Corinth by land, while his brother Teleutius blocked it up by sea.

In the mean time, Conon, after his victory at Cnidos, obtained of Pharnabazus fifty talents, to restore Pyreus to its former situation. He was likewise continued in the command of the fleet. After ravaging the coasts of Laconia, he returned to Athens, and was there received with the highest marks of joy. The consciousness of being the restorer of the power of his country, and of having rebuilt the walls of his native city, must undoubtedly have afforded him the most sincere pleasure. It is remarkable, that the city of Athens should be in a manner rebuilt at the expence of the same Persians who had formerly reduced it to ashes.

Conon, after having restored Athens to its former situation, and by that means enabled to repel the attacks of its enemies, sacrificed a hecatomb to the gods.

The grief and rage of the Lacedemonians, at seeing their ancient rival raised, as it were, out of her ruins, and restored to a condition of being still formidable to them, are inexpressible. They foresaw that their sovereignty over the rest of Greece was on the brink of annihilation. They therefore immediately resolved to vent their resentment upon Conon the chief cause of this revolution; and, for that purpose, dispatched Antalcides to Teribazus, governor of Sardis, with proposals of peace to the Persian monarch. The Athenians sent deputies on their part likewise, to prevent the success of the Lacedemonian negociations. But their endeavours were unsuccessful; and Conon was the victim of the insinuations instilled into the Persian satrap by Antalcides, who accused him of having applied the

money of the king to the re-establishment of Athens; and of having formed a plan of detaching Ætolia and Ionia from their dependence on Persia. The better to incline Artaxerxes to peace, the Spartans were mean-spirited enough once more to subject to his power all the Greek cities in Asia, for whose liberty Agesilaus had so gloriously fought.

We are not told by what means Teribazus was induced to believe the accusations of Antalcides against Conon. It is certain, however, that he caused that illustrious Athenian to be apprehended, and that he furnished the Lacedemonians with considerable sums of money. But he declined to conclude the peace without the approbation of his master.

Historians are not agreed about the fate of Conon. Some of them allege, that he was conducted to Susa, and there beheaded by order of the Persian monarch. They further say, that he entertained dangerous designs against the Persian power, after having received so great assistance from it; that he had formed a scheme of making himself master of some of their cities; and, under the pretence of relieving them from the tyranny of Sparta, intended to subject them to the power of Athens. Xenophon's silence about the fate of Conon, leaves room to suspect, that he may have escaped from his confinement. It is certain, however, that we hear no more of that celebrated commander, who had become the terror of Sparta, and had so effectually humbled their pride, that to accomplish his destruction they descended to the meanest submissions, and to a most disgraceful peace.

When the other states of Greece were informed of the peace concluded between the Lacedemonians and the Persian monarch, they were seized with the highest indignation; and, in the first emotions of their passion, resolved to reject it. But, on cooler reflection, they perceived, that their domestic dissensions had disabled them from maintaining a war with the Persians; and that, therefore, it was more

prudent to acquiesce in the treaty. In the mean time, mutual hostilities were carried on between the Spartans and Athenians; and a dreadful massacre happened at Corinth, by the instigation of the Spartans, who, taking advantage of the divisions prevailing in that city, contrived to get a body of troops introduced into it; and having spirited up the inhabitants to murder one another, their troops, in the tumult, cut to pieces a great number of the Argives and Bœotians.

At Rhodes, a dissension arose, in which the Athenians were consequentially interested. One half of the inhabitants having declared for democracy, and the other for aristocracy; the latter applied for support to the Lacedemonians, who accordingly sent them Teleutius with twenty ships. By this assistance, aristocracy was established. The Athenians, to whom the sovereignty of the island was understood to belong, in like manner sent thither Thrasybulus; who, having, in his way, levied some tribute in the island of Aspendos, the natives, provoked by the harsh treatment of the soldiers, joined in an insurrection, and murdered Thrasybulus in his tent. Thus perished that illustrious Athenian, whose zeal and bravery had restored his country to liberty, and whose magnanimous behaviour, at that critical period, intitles him to a place among the greatest men of these times.

The Athenians, at this time, entertained the most sanguine expectations from the extraordinary merit of Iphicrates, who, at twenty years of age, appeared to be a perfect master in the art of war. The troops left by Agesilaus at Leshea, having been dispersed by that commander, the Spartans found it expedient to make peace with the Bœotians.

Iphicrates being likewise sent to keep in obedience the towns reduced by Thrasybulus in his expedition to Rhodes, which were all situated along the coasts of the Hellespont, and had, on occasion of the late misfortunes of the republic, embraced the party of

Sparta, laid an ambush for the Spartan Anaxibias, and defeated him.

The Eginetæ, about the same time, made an incursion into Attica, at the instigation of the Spartans who supported them. But they were opposed by Chabrias, and totally routed. The Spartans, however, taking advantage of the absence of that commander from Athens, sent Teleutius against Pyreus, who entered it by surprise in the night, took several ships, destroyed some others, and created a great deal of confusion and terror among the inhabitants of Athens.

The Athenians and Spartans, weary of exerting their utmost efforts to accomplish their mutual destruction, were at length constrained to make peace with each other, and with Persia; which, by their jealousies and dissensions, was now become the umpire of Greece. The terms of this peace, as dictated by the Persian satrap, Teribazus, governor of Sardis, upon the suggestion, indeed, of the Lacedemonians, were to this effect. That all the Greek cities in Asia should be again subjected to the Persian government; that the Athenians should retain their jurisdiction over Lemnos; and that the rest of Greece should be free.

Such was the peace of Antalcides, so called from the Lacedemonian of that name, who was the principal author of it, by commission from the state of Sparta, instigated thereto by their jealousy of the rising power of Athens. In obeying the injunctions of his constituents on this occasion, Antalcides was more than ordinarily zealous, from his personal animosity against Agesilaus, who was totally averse to that infamous negotiation, by which the liberty and independency of the Greek cities of Asia, in whose defence he had lately performed such glorious exploits, were so shamefully sacrificed.

How disgraceful to the Greeks the contrast between this peace, by which Persia deprived them at once of their power in Asia Minor, and obliged

them to abandon their countrymen there established, and that made sixty years before with Artaxerxes Longimanus, by the Athenian Cimon! Greece, then victorious, not only vindicated its own liberty, but gave law to the Persians. The cause of the difference, however, is sufficiently apparent. It arose from the mutual quarrels of the states of Greece, of which the Persian monarchs skilfully availed themselves. Besides, the Greeks were no longer actuated by their former spirit of independency. Their ancestors uniformly despised the gold, and rejected the bribes of the Persians. Now they were no longer proof against these temptations, but basely prostituted themselves to the vilest corruption. Instead of uniting against the common enemy, they foolishly valued themselves on their superiority over each other, and exhausted their force in intestine dissensions. The consequence was, their being obliged to make use of the meanest flattery to the kings of Persia, in order to obtain from them supplies of troops and money.



C H A P. II.

Affairs of Greece, from the peace of Antalcides, to the conclusion of the war of the allies.

THE differences among the states of Greece were by no means extinguished by this peace of Antalcides. We shall still see hostilities carried on, not very interesting indeed in themselves, but of much importance in their consequences.

The peace of Antalcides having greatly increased the power of the Lacedemonians, the authors of it, had provoked against them all the other states of Greece. For by that peace the Thebans were obliged to withdraw the garrisons they held in the towns of Bœotia, as were the Corinthians their's from Argos. This was an effect of one maxim of the ancient Spartan policy that still prevailed in full vigour, namely, to keep down by every means the

power of such states as were at the time unable to make resistance.

From the same motive, upon complaints being made to them by deputies from the towns of Acanthus and Apollonia, of the too great increase of the power of Olynthus, they declared war against the Olynthians, and sent an army against that city, under the command of two brothers Endamidas and Phebidas. The first made himself master of the town of Potidea, then in alliance with the Olynthians. The other marched to Thebes; where finding the inhabitants divided into two factions, the one contending for oligarchy, and the other for democracy, he took advantage of their divisions, and prevailed on Leontides, the head of the former, who favoured Sparta, to put him in possession of the citadel. This daring exploit excited an universal hatred against the Lacedemonians, who, with a view of softening matters, deposed and laid a fine upon Phebidas. But, by a contradiction, dishonourable to the Spartan justice, they kept possession of the citadel; thus punishing the criminal but approving of the crime.

About the same time Leonidas, one of the Theban generals, arrested and imprisoned in the citadel Ismenius, another of their generals, who had declared for the popular government. The rest of that faction, to the number of more than 400 men, among whom was the famous Pelopidas, alarmed at this violence, fled to Athens. But Epaminondas living then in a private station, entirely employed in the study of philosophy, remained at Thebes. The enterprise of Phebidas had already occasioned loud complaints; but the Spartans carried their injustice to a greater length still, by sending commissioners to Thebes, who condemned Ismenius to death. The Spartan senate must undoubtedly have been greatly degenerated, before it could attempt such open acts of violence and injustice.

The following year the Olynthians cut in pieces a

part of the Spartan army, and among the rest their general Teleutius. But this disaster served only to exasperate the Spartans still more, who redoubled their efforts to reduce the city of Olynthus, which its inhabitants defended till reduced to the last extremities by famine. The prosperity of Sparta had never arrived at such a pitch before : but they held in subjection the most powerful cities of Greece, and punished severely those who attempted to shake off their yoke. The Athenians were too cautious to oppose them. But this prosperity, being founded on injustice, could be but of short duration. Two illustrious citizens of Thebes were destined to interrupt its course.

Pelopidas, the first of these, was very rich. But though a young man, he applied his wealth to the noblest of purposes, that of assisting persons of worth oppressed by want ; and instead of following the pleasurable dissipated life, commonly pursued by young men of fortune, placed his whole delight in bodily exercises and the use of arms. The other, Epaminondas, was, on the contrary, poor. But he enjoyed such perfect contentment in his situation, that he never would accept of the pecuniary assistance repeatedly offered him by his friend Pelopidas. He was besides endued with the most valuable qualifications ; being a man of an excellent understanding, and of indefatigable activity ; a brave and skilful commander ; extremely addicted to the study of philosophy ; and entertaining an utter abhorrence to every kind of falsehood, insomuch that he was never guilty of an untruth even in jest.

But the most extraordinary circumstance in the characters of those two great men, was the intimate friendship that, in spite of their very different situations in point of fortune, and their as different tastes of pleasure, subsisted between them, without ever being affected by the smallest spark of jealousy. This was owing to their connection being founded on virtue, untinctured with ambition or self-interest.

The sole aim of both was the glory and happiness of their country.

The Lacedemonians, in the mean time, were using their power still more and more presumptuously. They gave the Athenians a very sensible proof of their domineering spirit, by commanding them to withdraw their protection from the 400 Thebans, who, upon being banished by a public decree of their native country, had taken refuge at Athens. The Athenians, however, had too much humanity to adopt so violent and severe a measure against so great a number of Theban citizens ; more especially as these very men had contributed the most to the restoration of the popular government, of which the Athenians were at that time enjoying the advantages. Pelopidas, full of courage, and solely intent on the glory of his country, exhorted his fellow-sufferers in banishment to take up arms for asserting the liberty of their native country ; an object to which every danger or other personal consideration ought to submit. He found all their dispositions consonant to his own. Epaminondas, on his part, in like manner animated the Theban youth to throw off the Spartan yoke. The banished Thebans having accordingly concerted the plan of their enterprise, communicated it to their friends at Thebes. Twelve of them, with Pelopidas at their head, dressed like hunters, entered the city at night, and met by appointment in the house of Charon, one of the chief men in Thebes. Philidas, secretary to the principal magistrates, being in the plot, had that day invited them, with a view to prevent their getting notice of what was going on, to a grand entertainment. But in the height of their festivity a messenger arrived from Athens, bringing a packet containing a circumstantial account of the conspiracy. Archias, who was already pretty far advanced in his cups, on receiving the packet, cried out laughing, " Serious affairs for to morrow ;" and, putting it unopened under his pillow, continued the repast.

The conspirators, in the mean time, having divided themselves into two parties, one led on by Pelopidas, directed its course to the house of Leontides; who being awakened by the noise, bravely opposed the conspirators, sword in hand, and wounded several of them, but, unable to sustain so unequal a combat, is at last slain. The other party marches against Archias, rushes armed into the hall where the magistrates were feasting, and easily overcomes them, already overpowered with wine. They next break open the prisons, proclaim liberty, seize what weapons they can find, and arm all they meet. Epaminondas joins them at the head of a numerous band of youth, and incites them to proceed with all possible diligence. In these circumstances the other inhabitants, ignorant of what is passing, are seized with the utmost consternation. The Lacedemonian garrison, consisting of 1500 men, unacquainted with the small number of the conspirators, shut themselves up in the citadel, and send to demand succours from Sparta.

Next day, Epaminondas and Pelopidas, at the head of the conspirators, assemble the people, inform them of what had happened, and exhort them to stand up for the liberty of their country. The assembly proclaims them the restorers of their freedom, and loads them with universal applause.

The rest of the banished Thebans quickly arrive, and are soon followed by 5000 foot and 500 horse, sent by the Athenians under the conduct of Demophon. Several bodies of troops from the towns of Bœotia likewise come to their assistance; so that all their forces united amounted to 12,000 men. They immediately lay siege to the citadel; and the garrison, being obliged for want of provisions to capitulate, is permitted to march away. A reinforcement that had been dispatched from Sparta arrived too late; and the Spartans, in resentment, put to death the two officers who had capitulated.

This exploit, one of the most remarkable that

ever was executed by surprise, acquired immortal glory to Pelopidas.

The Lacedemonians now meditated nothing but revenge against Pelopidas and the Thebans; for the execution of which, their king Cleombrotus led an army into Bœotia. But the operations of the campaign were confined to some ravages of the country. The Athenians, in the mean time, dreading the resentment of the Spartans, renounced the league they had made with the Thebans, and persecuted either by imprisonment or banishment, such of their citizens as favoured their cause.

But Pelopidas contrived a stratagem for producing a quarrel between the Athenians and Spartans. In concert with Gorgidas, he prevailed on the Spartan Sphodrias, the commander of a body of troops at Thespia, destined to support the Bœotians who might incline to revolt against the Thebans, to seize Pyreus. Sphodrias, being an ambitious, vain man, readily undertook the enterprise, although the extreme injustice of it was apparent. But not having properly concerted his measures, his intentions were discovered, and his design miscarried. The Athenians complained loudly of this attempt at Sparta; but the son of Sphodrias employed his interest so effectually with Agesilaus in his father's favour, that he procured his acquittal. The Athenians were so provoked at this sentence, that they instantly renewed their alliance with the Thebans.

Much about the same time several other cities revolted from the Spartans; who, to crown their misfortunes, lost a great part of their army in the expedition against Bœotia. The famous Athenian, Chabrias, who, on account of his singular military skill, was considered as the only commander fit to oppose Agesilaus, distinguished himself highly on that occasion. Having drawn up his troops after a new method, he boldly offered battle to the Spartan: who, though he had an army of no fewer than 18,000 men, was so struck with the excellent order

of that of Chabrias, that he durst not venture a battle.

Chabrias gave as striking proofs of his conduct and bravery at sea as he had done at land. He defeated Pollis, who intended to have intercepted some ships bound to Athens with corn; and he conducted the ships into Pyreus. Having afterwards laid siege to Naxus, he beat the Spartans who came to relieve the place, and dispersed their fleet. The Spartans lost in this action thirty-two ships, and the Athenians eighteen. Chabrias, loaded with spoils, entered Pyreus in triumph.

The Athenians, encouraged by this success, equipped a fleet of sixty sail; of which they gave the command to Timotheus, the son of the famous Conon, who perfectly maintained the reputation of his father. After laying waste Laconia, he made himself master of Corcyro, and defeated the Lacedemonian fleet commanded by Mnassippus, who was killed in the engagement. The Spartans begged assistance from Dionysius, the tyrant of Syracuse, to retake this place, and obtained from him a reinforcement of ten galleys. They were nevertheless attacked by the Athenian fleet under Iphicrates, who had succeeded Timotheus in the command, and were all taken. Then the Spartans ordered Agesilaus to march against the Thebans. But he performed no decisive action, having only gained over them a few inconsiderable advantages. The war, however, proceeded very warmly between those two states, every day producing some new action, in which the Thebans, being for the most part successful, thence acquired additional courage. This was the object Pelopidas had in view; who, before he chose to hazard a general battle, desired to accustom his fellow-citizens to fighting. Agesilaus happening to be wounded in one of those skirmishes, was rallied on the occasion by his friends, who told him, that this was certainly the reward the Thebans intended him for having taught them the art of war.

Pelopidas having fallen in with the enemy near Tegyra, attacked them without hesitation, though amounting to thrice the number of his men. For he had the fullest confidence in a small corps of infantry, which consisted of no more than 300 men, and was called the sacred band, or troop of friends, being wholly composed of the bravest and best disciplined soldiers, united by so close a friendship, that every one of them was resolved to spend the last drop of his blood in defence of his companion. The Theban horse began the attack. The first shock was very terrible; in the second, the Lacedemonian general fell. His men, disheartened by his death, opened their ranks to let the Theban horse pass. But Pelopidas instantly advancing with his sacred band, completed their disorder, and made so great a slaughter, that the survivors took to flight in the utmost confusion. Pelopidas derived vast glory from this battle of Tegyra. Till then the Lacedemonians, while superior in numbers, had never been beaten; but now the Thebans deprived them of that honour.

While thus the dissensions of the Greeks continued without intermission, Artaxerxes, king of Persia, being at war with Egypt, had occasion for a reinforcement of troops. To obtain these, he dispatched ambassadors into Greece, to renew the peace of Antalcides, and to endeavour, if possible, to get every separate city placed in a state of absolute independence. He accordingly procured commissioners to be appointed for this purpose by the consent of them all, Thebes having agreed to the measure with much reluctance. Artaxerxes, in the mean time, engaged in his service 20,000 Greeks, and demanded Iphicrates for their general. His expedition, however, having been badly concerted, proved unsuccessful.

Several cities of the Peloponnesus, eager to enjoy the liberty procured them by Artaxerxes' negotiation, expelled the governors imposed upon

them by Sparta ; who, having rendered themselves odious by their tyranny, were treated with great severity. But at length the Athenians, by the means of Iphicrates, succeeded in appeasing those commotions.

At this time there was a prospect of seeing universal tranquillity restored in Greece. The Lacedemonians had, in a great measure, renounced that superiority which they had so long affected over the other states ; at least they ceased to exercise it ; and the Athenians having no other object in view than to restrain the exorbitant pretensions of the Lacedemonians, applied themselves to repair their losses. But this desirable prospect soon vanished ; for the Thebans, becoming presumptuous by their late success, declared war against the inhabitants of Platea ; and having taken both that town and Thespia, entirely demolished the former. This daring exploit so provoked the Athenians, that they immediately broke their alliance with them, and this rupture became a fresh source of war.

It was at first proposed to terminate all differences by negociation. But the Thebans, whose natural obstinacy was increased by their late success, thinking themselves treated with an unbecoming affectation of superiority, returned a haughty answer to the proposals of the Athenians, and refused to treat. Pelopidas was not a little instrumental in promoting the ambitious views of his countrymen : a work in which he was supported both by the council and arms of one of the greatest men that Greece ever produced, namely, Epaminondas ; whose merit, though then living in a private station, solely occupied with the study of philosophy, was soon discovered by the Thebans, who, forcing him from his obscurity, placed him at the head of their army.

In these circumstances, Agesilaus having declared to the Thebans, that if they had a mind to be comprehended in the treaty, they must previously

restore to liberty the towns of Bœotia ; Epaminondas answered, that with this they were ready to comply, provided the Spartans would set them the example, whose pretensions to superiority over Laconia were no better founded than those of his countrymen over Bœotia. Agesilaus, provoked at this answer, which plainly showed that the Thebans affected an equality with the Spartans, struck their name out of the treaty, and concluded the peace with the other states without them. This was equivalent to a positive declaration of war.

Cleombrotus accordingly received orders from the ephori to march into Bœotia at the head of 10,000 foot and 1000 horse. That king flattered himself, that the Thebans, deserted by their allies, were unable to oppose him. The Spartans at the same time convened the forces of their allies ; who joined them more from necessity than inclination. The Thebans, on the other hand, were somewhat uneasy on seeing themselves obliged to support the controversy by themselves alone ; their forces altogether amounting to but 6000 men, while their enemies had no fewer than 24,000. But to supply the odds, Epaminondas and Pelopidas fought for the Thebans. As soon as Cleombrotus arrived on the frontiers of Bœotia, he summoned the Thebans to rebuild the cities of Platea and Thespia, and to set the other towns at liberty. Epaminondas made answer, That the Thebans did not think themselves accountable to any person for their conduct. After such an answer, arms alone could decide the controversy.

371. The two armies having met in the plains of Leuctra, Epaminondas immediately offered battle. The view of an army so much superior in numbers as that of Cleombrotus, was sufficient to discourage the bravest soldiers ; more especially as Archidamus, the son of Agesilaus, had lately reinforced it with a considerable body of troops levied in Laconia. But this great superiori-

ty of the enemy in point of numbers, had no other effect upon the Theban army than to inspire them with the hopes of a victory, so much the more glorious in proportion as it was difficult. Epaminondas drew up his army in an order of battle altogether unknown before, of which the invention and conduct were entirely his own.

Cleombrotus had ranged his army in the form of the old Grecian phalanx, having his horse distributed in squadrons along the first line of the right wing, where he himself commanded. Epaminondas hoped to conquer the Lacedemonians, by throwing them into disorder and consternation, either by the death or capture of their general. As therefore it was the left wing of the Theban army which must attack the quarter where he fought, Epaminondas posted there his heavy-armed foot and the bravest of his men; and before his first line he drew up the few horse he had, to make head against those of the enemy. As he knew with what ardour the Thebans made their first attack, he did not doubt that they would break the Lacedemonians.

One difficulty only remained, but which, to a less able general, might have proved unsurmountable, namely, to prevent his troops from being surrounded when they charged. For this purpose, Epaminondas ranged his right wing, with which he intended only to make a shew of engaging, in such a manner as to have only six men deep, while each rank of his left, on which the whole weight of the battle was to fall, was no less than fifty deep. Then he suddenly extended his front so as to flank Cleombrotus, hoping, by that means, to provoke him to advance to secure his flank, and so to detach himself from the main body of his army.

The battle was begun by the cavalry. But those of the Lacedemonians were soon repulsed; and falling back on the infantry, disordered the foremost ranks. Cleombrotus, in the mean time, perceiving Epaminondas's apparent design to flank him, chang-

ed his order of battle, intending, in like manner, to extend the front of his right wing, with a view to surround Epaminondas's. This movement decided the fate of the engagement. Pelopidas, who at the head of the sacred band, covered Epaminondas' flank, and attentively observed every thing that passed, perceiving the disorder occasioned in the Lacedemonian army by the change in its disposition, instantly makes a vigorous charge upon them, breaks through them before they could form their ranks, and throws them into confusion.

Epaminondas, at the same time, leads on his phalanx to the attack. By his skilful conduct, he had already rendered the advantage on his own side too great to permit the victory to remain long in suspense. The Lacedemonians, on the other hand, fought as usual with incredible bravery. Wherever the danger was greatest, thither their bravest soldiers and best officers ran in crowds. They formed a circle round Cleombrotus, whom they defended with their lances and swords; and covering him with their bucklers, they sustained for a long while the impetuosity of the Thebans, who aimed at him alone. His son Cleonymus, together with his best officers and soldiers, having breathed their last at his feet, the Thebans at length cut a lane to him, sword in hand; and he himself, covered with his own blood, and that of his generous defenders, fell dead at last on the field of battle.

The heat of the battle now raged around the body of the king; where the Lacedemonians, instigated with fury and despair, exerted their utmost efforts to revenge the death of their general and king; and for a long time spread a dreadful slaughter around: but being now deprived of their commander, they soon fell into disorder, and began to lose courage. The Thebans, on the other hand, fighting under the conduct of Epaminondas, who skilfully managed their ardour, and repaired their broken ranks, at length, after the most vigorous and obstin-

ate dispute, secured the victory on their side. Epaminondas, observing that the violent resistance of the Lacedemonians proceeded from their desire to carry off the body of Cleombrotus, thought it was better to accomplish the total defeat of their army, than to contend with them for so poor a consolation. Wheeling off therefore to attack the other wing, which was already weakened by the loss of several of its officers, he cut the greatest part of it in pieces, and put the rest to flight. Pelopidas is attended with the same success wherever he fights; and the Lacedemonians, broken and disordered on all sides, give ground, quit the field of battle, and retreat, with the sole glory of having rescued the body of Cleombrotus from the hands of the enemy.

The goodness of the Theban horse contributed greatly to the obtaining of this victory. They began the attack, and defeated those of the Lacedemonians, after a feeble resistance. At this period, the Spartan cavalry was of little account, being composed of the horses kept in the time of peace by the richer sort of citizens for pleasure and convenience; which, on the breaking out of a war, were mounted by soldiers altogether unacquainted with the discipline requisite in a body of horse. The Theban cavalry, on the contrary, were excellent, and had already distinguished themselves in the battles of Thespia and Orchomenus, of which they had acquired all the glory.

The loss of the Thebans amounted only to 300 men, while the Lacedemonians left on the field of battle no fewer than 4000 killed, and in that number 1000 Spartans, the flower and hope of their nation. Till now there had never happened among the Greeks so bloody an engagement, the greatest slaughter, on former occasions, seldom exceeding 500 men.

Epaminondas gave himself up with all the fondness of the most zealous citizen to the joy of having

so completely defeated the mortal enemies of his country. The first transport of his joy was so great, that he could not restrain himself from exulting on account of so much glory and good fortune. But his philosophy soon got the better of his vanity; though at the same time he freely indulged sentiments of a more rational and just delight. For when the highest commendations were bestowed upon him on account of his success in this action, he discovered little sensibility to the praises lavished on himself, but declared, "That his joy arose principally from the thoughts of the pleasure which his father and mother would feel from the news of his success." A striking instance of his goodness of heart, and of his tender affection for those who had given him being.

The news of this victory produced at Sparta a behaviour extremely opposite to what might have been reasonably expected. But in that extraordinary state, humanity itself was sacrificed to the love of their country. The parents of those that were slain, congratulated with one another with the highest appearance of joy and satisfaction; while those who expected the return of their relations discovered the deepest dejection. This is not surprising when we reflect on the punishment inflicted by the laws of Sparta on those who fled in battle. The most mortifying dishonours of every kind were heaped upon them; every body was permitted to strike and abuse them; they durst not come abroad, except in dirty ragged garments; and all persons were prohibited from forming any connexion with them by marriage or otherwise. So necessary did they think it to punish cowardice.

The Spartans had still farther reason to be disquieted, on hearing that the Thebans were preparing to enter the Peloponnesus. Agesilaus was then the only man capable of delivering his countrymen from their extreme distress. He applied himself therefore to restore their courage; and his

first care was, to preserve for the public service those who, having fled in the last engagement, were on that account disqualified from serving in any military employment afterwards, but who were too numerous to be subjected to all the rigour of the law. He therefore procured in favour of the fugitives a suspension of the penal laws just mentioned. Then he made an irruption into the territory of the Mantineans, which he laid waste. But he carefully avoided an engagement.

The Thebans, on the other hand, desiring to profit by their victory, sent to beg assistance of the Athenians. But that state did not think it proper to comply with their request; for being desirous that the power of Greece should remain properly balanced, they thought it most advisable to continue quiet, and for that purpose renewed the treaty with the other states. The Thebans, however, persisted in their opposition; and being joined by the Eleans, Argives, Arcadians, and even some of the inhabitants of Laconia, whose views and interests were the same with their own, they formed a league, whereby it was agreed, that each of those states should have liberty to govern itself by its own laws.

This new form of government introduced among the Arcadians faction and discord, the usual concomitants of sudden political alterations. The Argives in particular were distracted by the most grievous dissensions. For their nobles, by the instigation of the orators who applied their eloquence on this occasion to the purpose of stirring up discord and sedition, having entered into the resolution of abolishing democracy, the people, getting notice of their design, murdered one half of the conspirators, and had the other formally condemned and executed, the orators themselves being comprehended in this catastrophe.

In the mean time several states of Greece, namely, the Phoceans, Locrians, and Eubeans, acceded to the Theban league, on pretence of assisting the

Arcadians; and marched into the Peloponnesus. Their forces altogether amounted to 40,000, and when united with those of the Thebans, composed an army of 60,000 men. This army, under the command of Epaminondas and Pelopidas, entered Laconia, where it laid every thing waste with fire and sword; and advancing to the very confines of Sparta, created in that city incredible consternation. Plutarch observes, that in the space of 600 years, during which the Dorians had now possessed the territory of Lacedemon, no enemy had ever before dared to invade their territories.

Epaminondas having made good his passage over the Eurotas with the loss of a great many men, penetrated as far as the suburbs. The Spartans, who had never before seen an enemy at their gates, became furious at the sight; and desired instantly to be led against the invaders, that they might either repulse them, or die on the spot. It was with the greatest difficulty that they were restrained from putting their purpose in execution by Agesilaus, who, amidst this storm that threatened his country with utter ruin, resolved to act entirely on the defensive, by all means to avoid a general engagement, and to confine himself to the defence of the town. This conduct excited the murmurs of his fellow-citizens, who beheld with horror all the country around them in flames. But by his firmness and prudence he maintained his authority in all its vigour, and succeeded in calming their tempers. On this occasion he purposed to restore the Helots to liberty, and to make them soldiers. Six thousand of them were accordingly inlisted.

The Thebans in the mean time endeavour to bring the enemy to a regular action. But Agesilaus, having very different intentions, posted his army on an eminence within the town, and bestowed his chief attention on keeping all the passages strongly and carefully guarded. Then the Thebans attempted an attack, but were repulsed, and many of them slain by a party of 300 Spartans, who sal-

lied out upon them from an ambuscade. The heroic behaviour too of Ischolas made them sensible how dear it must cost them to take Sparta. That brave Spartan, who may be justly compared on this occasion with the famous Leonidas, by whom the whole Persian army was for a while stopt at the pass of Thermopylæ, had been appointed to the command of a small party that defended an important post. But perceiving that he must be overpowered by the enemy, he sent away the younger soldiers, and at the head of the remainder, sacrificed his own life, along with those of his generous followers, in the service of his country.

Epaminondas finding all his endeavours to draw Agesilaus out of the town ineffectual, thought it necessary to retreat: not as is supposed from a despair of being able, with a little patience, to reduce Sparta, then in a very defenceless situation, but from an apprehension of exciting against his country the jealousy of the rest of the Greeks. He contented himself therefore with having humbled the Spartan pride, and with having obliged them to make use of a more modest tone of speech with their neighbours.

The Thebans retired into Arcadia; where it was resolved, in consequence of the advice of Epaminondas and the consent of their allies, to re-establish in their ancient possessions the posterity of the Messenians, who had been 300 years before expelled the Peloponnesus by the Spartans, and were at this time dispersed over the island of Sicily. The Messenians joyfully embraced the first invitation; and, after dividing the territory, received from the allies a formidable body of troops for their immediate defence. The loss of this country, the most fruitful in Greece, was severely felt by the Lacedemonians.

Epaminondas and Pelopidas, on their return to Thebes, instead of receiving the thanks and applause they so well deserved at the hands of their country

men, were judicially cited to answer for the crime of having retained the command of the army four months longer than the time allowed by law. A law rigorously observed in the larger republics, from an apprehension lest some man, invested with so high an authority, might be tempted to use it to the subversion of the liberty of his country. They were, therefore, thrown into prison, and an accusation was exhibited against them ; for, as usual, their distinguished merit had procured them many enemies. Pelopidas managed his defence like a man apprehensive of the whimsical inconstancy and ingratitude inherent in the disposition of every people under a republican form of government. But Epaminondas, whose respectable appearance corresponded perfectly with the greatness of his actions, pleaded his cause with a confidence that astonished the hearers. Without descending to a direct justification of his conduct, he recalled to their remembrance all his exploits, and the services he had performed for his country ; and declared that he would lay down his life with pleasure, if his countrymen would express in his sentence, that his having overthrown their enemies in the field of Leuctra without their consent, was the crime for which he suffered. The manner of this defence restored the Thebans to their right reason, and they unanimously acquitted Epaminondas, upon whom this trial only reflected additional glory.

As for the Spartans, their late humiliation, and the continual alarms to which they were exposed, produced a change in their dispositions. They began to murmur against the government ; the city was distracted by factions ; and nothing went on but cabals and conspiracies. These intestine disorders afforded great opportunity to Agesilaus to display both his patience and his prudence. Having gained over the ephori to his side, and having discovered some of those conspiracies, he put several of the principal ringleaders to immediate death, and

made it capital for any person to be engaged in the like for the future. After having by these means restored tranquillity and order in Sparta, he began to look abroad for assistance among the neighbouring states; and he was lucky enough to prevail with the Corinthians to furnish him with some auxiliary forces.

Things began now to wear a different appearance in Greece. We shall immediately see those haughty Spartans descending to implore assistance of the same Athenians on whom they had lately inflicted all the mischiefs in their power, and whose utter ruin they would have joyfully accomplished. At this time, however, they found themselves under the necessity of sending an embassy to Athens, to explain the extremity to which they were reduced, and to endeavour to convince the Athenians how much it was their interest to join with them, and to stop the career of the ambitious Thebans, who seemed desirous of reducing all Greece under their subjection.

This occasion furnishes us with a striking instance of the generosity of the Athenians, as well as of their just discernment of the general interest of Greece. For though the misfortunes brought upon them by the Lacedemonians were fresh in their remembrance, they nevertheless resolved at once to furnish them with immediate assistance; and at the same time they brought about a confederacy with several other states to oppose the Thebans. They refused, however, to take any part in this war, except upon condition that they were allowed to act in it on an equal footing with the Lacedemonians, and to exercise the chief command alternately with them, at the rate of four days at a time each. As this was by no means a proper season for Sparta to talk of her superiority, the conditions proposed by the Athenians were agreed to without hesitation.

The Spartans, supported in this manner by their allies, were for some time in a situation to stop the

progress of the opposite confederacy. But soon after, the Arcadians took from them Pallenum in Laconia, put the garrison to the sword, and effected a junction with the Eleans, Argives, and Thebans. The Athenians then thought it necessary to oppose to Epaminondas their countryman Chabrias, whose troops, when united with those of the Spartans, composed altogether an army of 22,000 men. Epaminondas, in the mean time, intending to penetrate into the Peloponnesus, advanced to the isthmus, which he found defended by a strong wall. But discovering one part of it weaker than the rest, he opened himself a passage through it after a very warm engagement. Then he advanced into the country, destroying every thing with fire and sword; and having reduced Sicyon, he laid siege to Corinth. But Chabrias arriving in the mean time, put a stop to his success, frustrated all the future attempts of the Thebans, and at length obliged them to depart out of the Peloponnesus. Epaminondas, on his return to Thebes, experienced once more the ingratitude of his countrymen, who accused him of partiality to the Spartans, and under that pretence deprived him of the command.

The news of the battle of Leuctra had by this time reached the extremities of Asia, and the success of Epaminondas began to give umbrage to the Persian monarch Artaxerxes; to whom an embassy having been dispatched by the Lacedemonians, the Thebans likewise thought it necessary to send thither Pelopidas upon their part. That illustrious Theban was gazed upon with admiration at the court of Persia, where his truly heroic character quickly displayed itself, particularly in the eyes of the king, with whom he became a great favourite. Pelopidas soon convinced that prince that it was his interest to protect the Thebans, more especially as they had never fought against the Persians, and were the only people of Greece now capable of holding the balance even between Sparta and Athens. He fur-

ther represented, that all his countrymen required was, that Messene should be maintained in the possession of its liberty; that the Athenians should be obliged to withdraw their garrisons from the towns of Bœotia; and that the Thebans should be accounted allies of the great king. Thus the negotiations of the Lacedemonians at the court of Persia were in a great measure rendered ineffectual; for they were able to obtain nothing more than 2000 mercenaries, with money for their pay. They procured about the same time such another reinforcement from Dionysius the tyrant of Sicily.

The war still went on between the states of Greece. Archidamus, the son of Agesilaus, having received intelligence that the Messenians were opposing the march of the Lacedemonian auxiliaries from Sicily, marched to their relief, engaged the Arcadians and Argives, and obtained a signal victory, with the loss, as is pretended, of but a single man. The news of this victory occasioned much joy at Sparta, and revived their drooping spirits; for their defeat at Leuctra had affected them to such a degree, that we are told their men were ashamed to look their women in the face.

Pelopidas, on the other hand, by his skill in the art of negociation, daily procured fresh reinforcements to the Theban power. Having acquired the confidence of the prince of Macedon, he was, by the mutual consent of Perdiccas and Ptolemy, the sons of Amyntas, chosen umpire to decide the dispute that had arisen between them about their succession to that kingdom. Pelopidas accordingly pronounced his sentence; and to insure the execution of it, carried along with him to Thebes, by way of hostage, a third son of Amyntas called Philip, who became afterwards the famous king of Macedon of that name.

A formidable power, in the mean time, started up in Thessaly, Alexander of Pheræ having assassinated Poliphron the general of the Thessalians, rendered himself master of the whole of that coun-

try, and with an army of 20,000 veteran soldiers made war all around him with uninterrupted success. The Thessalians implored deliverance from their miseries of the Thebans, who sent Pelopidas to their relief. The Theban general very soon reduced Larissa, obliged Alexander to sue for peace, and attempted, by moderation and indulgence, to inspire that prince with sentiments of justice and humanity. But the excess of debauchery into which he had plunged himself, and his cruel disposition, frustrated all the endeavours of Pelopidas.

Pelopidas having been recalled into Macedonia, on occasion of fresh troubles that had broken out there on the death of Perdiccas (who had fallen in battle) and which were chiefly occasioned by Ptolemy's attempting to mount the throne, raised an army of mercenaries in haste, and marched against Ptolemy. Though Ptolemy had found means to corrupt many of Pelopidas's soldiers; yet, as he stood much in awe of him, he came before him in a submissive manner, and made him the most specious promises. Pelopidas thereupon, at the head of a few Thessalian troops, marched into Pharsalia, with an intention to chastise those mercenary soldiers by whom he had been abandoned. Alexander of Pheræ happening then to be in that neighbourhood with a great army, Pelopidas resolved to wait upon him as ambassador of the Thebans. But Alexander, seeing him slenderly attended, caused him to be seized, contrary to the law of nations; and having conducted him to Pheræ, threw him into prison. Pelopidas, though in irons, astonished the tyrant by his firmness and resolution; and upon hearing of his cruelty to the citizens, of whom he was daily putting some to death, he boldly threatened to punish him for his wickedness, if ever he escaped out of his hands. While that illustrious Theban continued under the most rigorous confinement, Thebe, the tyrant's wife, who had likewise abundant reason of dissatisfaction with her husband, on account of

his infamous debauchery, paid a visit to Pelopidas, and could not refrain from bursting into tears on seeing his dismal situation.

When the Thebans heard of the unjust seizure of Pelopidas, they immediately sent an army against the tyrant. But through the unskilfulness of its commanders, this army made but little progress, and was continually harassed by Alexander. Epaminondas happening to serve in this expedition in the station of a private officer, was entreated by the soldiers to undertake the chief command. Overlooking, therefore, the ungrateful treatment he received by him from his fellow citizens, and studying nothing but the glory and happiness of his country, he complied with their earnest solicitations. The soldiers, inspired with extraordinary courage, on seeing themselves conducted by so skilful a general, grew impatient to come to action. But Epaminondas, apprehensive for the life of Pelopidas, which was entirely in the tyrant's power, protracted the war, and satisfied himself with holding Alexander in awe. He even listened with mildness to the ambassadors sent by the tyrant to plead his justification, and in every thing managed him with consummate prudence, making him sensible, at the same time, that it was in his power to chastise him whenever he thought it convenient. He kept him therefore in perpetual alarm; but offered him a truce of thirty days, on condition of his setting Pelopidas at liberty. To this Alexander having consented, Epaminondas returned to Thebes, happy at having delivered his friend out of the hands of so cruel an enemy.

Alexander soon gave way to his perverse disposition; and by his tyranny and oppression obliged several cities to implore relief of the Thebans, who, at their earnest desire, sent Pelopidas to their assistance. But an eclipse that intervened, prevented many Thebans from accompanying him; and not daring to contradict their ridiculous superstition,

he was obliged to depart with an escort of only 300 horse. He was incited in his enterprise, both by his resentment against the tyrant for having so cruelly and perfidiously detained him in prison, and likewise by a desire of showing that the Thebans were able to overthrow tyranny; while their enemies, the Lacedemonians, were reduced to the necessity of begging assistance from the tyrant Dionysius.

Pelopidas with his 300 horse, upon being joined by 7000 men sent him from Thessaly, marched and pitched his camp at Cynocephalus, a place surrounded with high hills. Alexander, who had an army of 20,000 men, on being informed of the great inferiority of the enemy in point of numbers, marched to give them battle. Pelopidas's cavalry broke those of the tyrant at the first charge. But the infantry of the latter, which were posted upon the heights, pouring down upon the Thessalians, obliged them to give ground. Pelopidas galloped up with his cavalry to their relief, rallied them, and put the enemy to flight. Encouraged by this success, and instigated by resentment against Alexander, he advanced up to the tyrant, whom he happened to perceive, and by name, challenged him to single combat; but without effect; for Alexander retired behind his men. Pelopidas, blinded by his fury, and not reflecting on the danger to which he exposed himself, nor the duty of his rank, rushes
364. upon the party that surrounded the tyrant, and cuts down all that oppose his passage. But he is instantly overwhelmed by a shower of darts, is thrown from his horse, and transfixed with javelins. The Thessalian horsemen gallop up to his assistance, but find him expiring. The Thebans, on hearing the news, are inspired with the greatest fury; and falling with impetuosity on the main body of the enemy, cut in pieces 3000 men.

The soldiers were all penetrated with inconsolable grief for the loss of their general, whom with tears

in their eyes, they proclaimed to have been their father and deliverer. In token of their sorrow, they cut off the hair of their own heads, and the manes of their horses, and shut themselves up in their tents, abstaining from every kind of nourishment. The magistrates and people of the towns through which his body was carried, came to meet the procession, bringing crowns and trophies. The Thesalians and Thebans contended for the honour of burying him. But the moving arguments employed by the former, prevailed with the Thebans to yield them that last mournful office.

The friendship of Epaminondas and Pelopidas had been of long continuance, and had been maintained with perfect intimacy and sincerity. Their unanimity insured the success of all their undertakings; for the public welfare being the sole object of both, entirely prevented the grovelling passions of envy and jealousy from obtaining any footing in their breasts. Epaminondas's contempt of wealth excited the admiration of Pelopidas, who grew desirous of imitating the plain frugal life of his friend. But his application to the business of the state made him negligent about his own private fortune, which, by that means, suffered considerably. Pelopidas was active, brave, and persevering; was esteemed and beloved by the people, and always possessed the greatest influence in the administration. He aimed at nothing less than rendering the Thebans the foremost people in Greece.

The Thebans, not satisfied with mourning the death of Pelopidas, resolved to revenge it. Having with this view united their forces with those of the Thessalians, they dispersed the remains of Alexander's army, obliged him to give up all the places he had taken, and to swear obedience to the Theban commands. That tyrant having rendered himself detestable by his debauchery and cruelty, perished seven years after this period by the hands of his wife and her brothers.

The Thebans, in the mean time, were solely intent on profiting by the dissensions of the other states to augment their own power. But their success had now alarmed the rest of Greece, which was all in motion. A dispute that arose between the Arcadians and Mantineans, furnished them with a pretence for again entering the Peloponnesus in arms. They accused the Arcadians of an intention to join the Spartan confederacy; and, though the Arcadians denied the accusation in the strongest terms, yet Epaminondas told them, with a tone of authority, that he would judge of their sincerity in the Peloponnesus. This convinced them that a storm was preparing against them. They therefore made application to the Athenians and Spartans for assistance, and both those states concluded with them an offensive and defensive alliance.

Epaminondas, at the head of the Bœotians, and a body of Thessalian cavalry, having again marched into the Peloponnesus,—Tygea, and a part of Arcadia, declared in his favour. The Spartans hearing of the motions of the Thebans, assembled their troops at Mantinea, which they fortified. Epaminondas was then meditating a bold exploit, capable of ruining the Lacedemonians for ever. It was no other than to push forwards with his army directly to Sparta, which he hoped to surprise in the absence of their troops which had marched for Mantinea. With this view, he instantly put his army in motion. But Agesilaus, who was then on his march to Mantinea, getting notice of his intention, posted back with such expedition to Sparta, that he found himself in a situation to receive the Thebans; the few inhabitants who had remained at home, disposing themselves in the best manner they could along the different quarters of the town. Epaminondas, however, though discovered, resolved to alarm the Spartans; and, for that purpose, attacked the town, and penetrated as far as the market-place. Agesilaus sustained his attacks with wonderful coolness

and presence of mind ; and, though far advanced in years, exerted prodigies of personal valour, freely exposing his life in defence of his country. In this, indeed, he was admirably well seconded by his son, Archidamus, who commanded the youth, and showed himself worthy such a father : for having crossed the Eurotas, and taken possession of an eminence, he thence made a furious charge upon the Thebans, and put them to flight.

It was on this occasion that Isadas, the son of Phebidas, a young Spartan of large stature and great strength, distinguished himself by an exertion of extraordinary bravery. Happening to be at home when the Thebans broke into the town, and being suddenly alarmed at the noise of armour, he instantly seizes a spear in one hand, and a sword in the other, and runs out to oppose the enemy, stark naked as he was at the time. He rushes forward where the danger was greatest, deals death around him with every blow, and overthrows all that oppose him, without receiving any wound himself. The ephori decreed him a chaplet as the reward of his valour ; but, at the same time, laid a fine of 1000 drachmas upon him, as a punishment for having exposed himself without armour.

Epaminondas, finding more resistance than he had expected, drew off his army from before Sparta, and marched towards Mantinea, to which he resolved to lay siege. That place happened then to be quite defenceless ; the allies, who had at first assembled there, having returned home to take care of their harvest. But, in the mean time, 6000 Athenians, under the command of Hegilochus, passed the sea to join the allies at Mantinea, and arrived in time to save the place. Falling in with the Thebans, they immediately gave them battle ; which, though sharp, was but of short duration : for the Thebans, finding their project disappointed, thought it prudent to retreat.

The Theban general, provoked at having failed in

these two last attempts, and fearing to forfeit the confidence of his allies on that account, resolved to come to a general engagement, which might at once render him master of the Peloponnesus.

The Theban army, comprehending their allies the Arcadians and Argives, amounted to 30,000 foot and 3000 horse. That of the Lacedemonians, joined with the Athenian troops, and those of their other allies, amounted to no more than 20,000 foot and 2000 horse. The latter had but few slingers and archers, who, besides, were not very expert. The Thebans, on the contrary, had a great number, who had come to their assistance all the way from the borders of Thessaly, and excelled in the use of the sling and dart. Epaminondas was well persuaded, that by gaining this battle, he should insure to Thebes a superiority over the rest of Greece.

In the opinion of the greatest masters in the art of war, the arrangement of the Theban army in this engagement, which was fought on the plains of Mantinea, was as skilful as it was singular. Epaminondas, though superior in the number of his men, omitted nothing that might contribute to the success of the battle. Never did he employ more art to deceive the enemy, and to conceal from them his intended order of fight, that so he might attack them with the double advantage of their disorder, and his own superior skill.

The Lacedemonian army was encamped at the foot of mount Parthemus; and that of the Thebans on the declivity of the same hill. Epaminondas, without regarding the order of the enemy, whom he did not doubt of disconcerting by the singularity of his attack, formed his men before moving from the place of encampment. On his left wing, which was destined to charge the Lacedemonians themselves, he posted his Thebans and Arcadians, being the flower of his army: the Argives compose his right; the Eubœans, Sicyonians, and Locrians, occupied

his centre ; and the cavalry was disposed along the wings.

After informing every corps of the order in which it was to fight, he instantly changed his disposition, put his army in motion, and, in a moment, gave it such a movement as indicated an intention to march. He advanced, indeed, towards the enemy ; but, from the disposition of his troops, they were convinced that he meant to decamp. Still more to deceive them, after continuing his march for some time, he halted on an eminence, and caused all his infantry to ground their arms. This behaviour persuaded the Lacedemonians, that Epaminondas intended to pitch his camp. Their officers were the first deceived, and accordingly quitted their stations ; the soldiers, after their example, left their ranks ; and thus the whole Lacedemonian army, which had till then continued in battle array, dispersed all over their camp.

This was the effect that Epaminondas had foreseen and expected. As soon as he perceived the Lacedemonians in the disorder of an army quietly retiring to their quarters, from a belief that there was nothing more to be feared, he commands his men to recover their arms, and advances quickly to the attack. The enemy, in amazement, run in haste to recover their ranks, and form with all possible expedition. They think of nothing now but to act on the defensive, Epaminondas's troops being already formed, while they were hardly begun to make their disposition. Notwithstanding their surprise, however, they threw themselves into the form of a phalanx. The Athenian horse took post on one wing ; the Lacedemonian on the other. Their precipitation produced confusion ; and, on viewing the excellent order of the Theban army, they could expect nothing but a certain defeat.

One part of the Theban horse had already placed themselves in front of that of the Athenians, to overawe them, and to prevent them from attacking

their infantry in flank. The rest opposed the Lacedemonian cavalry. Epaminondas had intermingled among his horse small parties of excellent Thessalian slingers and archers, a precaution which the Lacedemonians had neglected. As soon as his cavalry had taken their station, Epaminondas, who had till now led on his army in the form of a phalanx, with a single line, suddenly ordered the extremity of his right wing to halt; and, at the same time, advanced briskly with the left wing in an angular form; with the point of which, as with the beak of a galley, to use Xenophon's expression, he charged the centre of the enemy.

He had had the precaution to place in this wing his choicest troops, which were besides sustained by those of the other wing; the left extremity of which extended to the formidable point in which he now advanced. His intention was to bear down the centre of the Lacedemonians, and then to charge them in flank to right and left, when, after thus being divided, they might be the more easily overpowered.

The trumpets having sounded the charge, the armies, as usual, set up loud shouts. The engagement was begun by the Lacedemonian horse; which being much inferior to those of the Thebans, were broken at the first onset, and put to flight, after making a poor resistance. The centre of the enemy was likewise borne down, as Epaminondas had foreseen. But this disadvantage, far from discouraging the Lacedemonians, rather animated them to exert prodigies of valour to repair their loss.

Never, says Diodorus Siculus, had the Greeks fought against one another with such numerous armies; never were they commanded by more skilful generals; never had they discovered more firmness, valour, and intrepidity. They all entertained the same indifference for life, the same desire of glory, the same love for their country. This battle was now to decide, in the sight of all Greece in

arms, whether Thebes, constantly victorious through the whole course of this war, or Sparta, illustrious by its triumphs for ages preceding it, should enjoy the superiority over the rest of their countrymen. From all these motives united, the two parties disputed the victory with the most obstinate bravery.

The foot of both armies made the first attack with their lances. These being soon broken, they betook themselves to their swords. Then the action became one of the most bloody that had ever been known; and the earth was soon covered with the dead and wounded, and drenched with blood. But in spite of all the precautions used by Epaminondas for securing the victory on his side, it still remained doubtful; and he now saw, that a desperate effort was necessary to insure the success of his wisest measures.

In this decisive moment, Epaminondas, still further to animate his men, thought it necessary to act the part of a brave soldier rather than that of a cautious general. Assembling therefore a chosen band of his bravest Thebans, he exhorts them to follow the example he is now to show them, and then rushes impetuously upon the Lacedemonians, determined to sacrifice his life if he can thereby decide the fate of the engagement. Followed by his troop of Thebans, he drives all before them, and cuts a lane through the enemy. The Lacedemonians in the centre begin to stagger, by and by give ground, and at last retire from the field of battle. Epaminondas pursued them, and made such a slaughter, that the ground where he and his troops fought, was, by the account of Diodorus Siculus, covered with heaps of Lacedemonians.

To render the victory complete, it was now only necessary to recal the victorious Thebans from the pursuit of those that fled, and to lead them against the wings of the Lacedemonian army, which still kept their ground. But such valour and prudence are seldom united. Epaminondas, impelled by the

ardour of his courage, was no longer master of himself, and seemed resolved not to let a single Lacedemonian escape. Having advanced imprudently into the midst of them, without reflecting that his brave troops were every moment diminishing, he found himself at length almost alone, surrounded by a crowd of Lacedemonians. This brave man, then, collecting all his strength, supports, with a truly heroic bravery, the unequal combat, and wards off, with his buckler, the showers of darts poured upon him from every quarter. But while he is thus intent on defending himself, an officer makes a push at him with his lance, and plunges it into his breast. The wood having broken, the iron stuck fast in the wound, and Epaminondas falls half dead to the ground. The news is immediately spread through both armies. The Thebans, furious for the loss of their general, ran to the spot where he lay wounded, and bear down all before them. A shocking slaughter prevails round the body of Epaminondas, both parties fighting with the most furious obstinacy to get possession of it. The Thebans, however, prevail at last, and carry off their commander, though almost without life. Their fury redoubles at the sight; and they vent it upon the Lacedemonians, who now began to fly on all sides. But the Theban commanders, considering that victory had hitherto declared in their favour, and being unwilling to hazard their good fortune any further, caused the retreat to be sounded.

When the Thebans were retired to their camp, the physicians, on examining Epaminondas's wound, judged it to be mortal; and gave it as their opinion, that he must soon die unless the iron were drawn from his breast, and that it was probable he might expire under the operation. Epaminondas heard them with the greatest calmness; and perceiving that his last hour was at hand, called for his armour bearer, and asked him whether his shield was safe? The man answering that it was; and having shown

it to him, a smile of joy immediately overspread the face of Epaminondas ; who taking hold of his shield, embraced it, says Justin, as the companion of his labours and of his glory. He next enquired, which of the armies had remained the conqueror ; and, on being assured that the Lacedemonians had quitted the field of battle, “ Then (says he) I have lived long enough, since I die with the honour of having never been beaten.”

After saying this, he desired the physicians to pull the iron from his breast. As it was not doubted that he would die under the operation, the hearts of all present were penetrated with extreme sorrow. In the midst of this general dejection, one of his most intimate friends could not refrain himself from bursting out into the following exclamation ; “ O Epaminondas ! you die, (cried he) you die, without leaving us even the hope of ever seeing you revive in any of your posterity, for you leave no children behind you.” “ You are mistaken, (replied Epaminondas calmly) I leave behind me two immortal daughters, the victory of Leuctra and that of Mantinea.” The physicians having then, with much difficulty, extracted the iron from his breast, he fainted away. Some historians tell, that he drew it from the wound with his own hand. Whatever may be in that, he expired a few moments after, as if in the arms of victory, with a smile of joy and satisfaction diffused over his countenance.

Cicero regards Epaminondas as the completest character of Greece. The advantages bestowed on him by nature were improved by the admirable education given him by his father, who entertained so strong a passion for the arts and sciences that, in the pursuit of them, he spent all his fortune. Epaminondas, naturally of a philosophical genius, preferred the good education given him by his father to the greatest estate he could have left him. Master of his passions, and fond of temperance and simplicity, he lived happy in a state of the narrowest

mediocrity. The honour of his country was the motive of his whole conduct ; and his time was entirely employed about the public welfare and the improvement of his understanding. Though naturally addicted to the military life, he had studied the theory, before he chose to venture on the practice of war. His order of battle at Leuctra and Mantinea, procured him the character of the most complete master of tactics of his time. That of Mantinea, in particular, was accounted the master-piece of this accomplished commander.

His countrymen, who till his time had been buried in indolence and a total ignorance of the art of war, stood in need of such a master. By his care and application, he at once made them a nation of soldiers, and put them in a capacity of disputing the superiority of Greece with the people by whom that superiority was possessed. Pelopidas, it is true, had the honour of beginning the work ; but that of carrying it to its perfection belonged to Epaminondas alone. In the battle of Leuctra, the Thebans, unassisted by any allies, humbled the pride of Sparta. Epaminondas, in every encounter, discomfited those celebrated Spartans, so renowned in all histories, and gave irreparable blows to their power. He used, in jest, to say, that he had taught them to lengthen their monosyllables ; alluding to their laconic answers, the overbearing tone of which had so much disgusted the other states. His integrity was without example. He not only himself rejected, with indignation, a large sum of money offered by the Persians to corrupt his integrity, but even obliged Micithus to return the money received by him for making the proposal. In a word, he was not only a skilful commander, a profound statesman, and a man of learning and science, but his virtue in private life reflected additional lustre on all those other shining qualifications.

The views and hopes of the Thebans were buried in Epaminondas's grave. Their thoughts were now

entirely turned to peace; and as their enemies were still more exhausted by the war than they, the terms of accommodation proposed were very honourable for the Thebans. It was agreed, that each party should retain what he had won. The Lacedemonians alone, by the persuasion of Agesilaus, refused to accede to the treaty, under pretence that it comprehended the inhabitants of Messene. They preferred war, therefore, in the hopes of recovering that country. Agesilaus was much blamed on this occasion, for persuading his countrymen to persist in a ruinous war, rather than to embrace so favourable an opportunity of procuring an advantageous peace; and he was looked upon as an obstinate man, who preferred the pleasure of commanding an army to the happiness and quiet of his country.

At this time Tachos king of Egypt being
362. threatened with an invasion from the Persian monarch, sent to request the assistance of a body of troops from the Lacedemonians, with Agesilaus for their commander. His request was complied with; and the world was surprised to see a king of Sparta, at such an advanced period of life, spent in continual action and fatigue, submit to serve under a foreign prince. The event afforded him abundant cause to repent of his imprudence. The Egyptians, prepossessed with a high opinion of Agesilaus, from his great reputation as a most skilful general, had figured to themselves a king of a noble striking appearance. They were, therefore, exceedingly surprised to find him an old man, of a despicable figure, and in a very homely dress; and and could hardly refrain from insulting him. He expected to have had the sole direction of the war. But he got the command only of the mercenaries, that of the navy being committed to the Athenian Chabrias, and the king retaining to himself the supreme direction both of the army and of the fleet.

Tachos, disregarding the advice of Agesilaus not

to advance too far from his own frontiers, resolved to march into Phenicia. Agesilaus, provoked at this step of the king, joined a faction of the Egyptians who had revolted against him in his absence, and had advanced Nectenabus to the throne. Plutarch boldly treats this behaviour of Agesilaus as downright perfidy and treason. But the Lacedemonians, from their violent attachment to their native country, seldom failed to sacrifice honour and good faith to what they imagined might redound to its advantage. To Agesilaus, therefore, it was sufficient reason to prefer the useful to the honourable ; that he believed the side he embraced might better promote the glory of Sparta, or that the king for whom he declared was more attached to Greece ; objects that, in a Grecian breast, outweighed every other consideration.

The prince of the city of Mendes having appeared as a third competitor for the crown, in opposition to Nectenabus, Agesilaus advised to fight him immediately. But Nectenabus was of a different opinion ; of which, however, he had soon reason to repent. After having learned, by experience, that Agesilaus was in the right, he thought proper to follow his counsel. Agesilaus thereupon defeated his opponent, and made him prisoner. Having, at length, secured Nectenabus on the throne, he set sail for Lacedemon ; but being driven by contrary winds on that part of the coast of Africa called the harbour of Menelaus, he there fell sick, and breathed his last, at the age of 84 years. His body was carried to Sparta, and his son Archidamus succeeded him in the kingdom.

Agesilaus forms one of the most conspicuous and interesting characters exhibited in the history of Greece, as much on account of his personal qualities as of the very important transactions in which he was constantly engaged. Though nature had loaded him with a deformed and ungraceful person, yet his wit and spirit procured him universal es-

teem and admiration. Bred a plain Spartan, he preserved on the throne, even to a degree of affectation, the ancient Spartan simplicity and austerity of life. He always behaved as the most zealous protector of the laws, to which he himself paid the most exact and perfect obedience. This part of his character excites the highest admiration. The deference and respect shown by him on all occasions to the ephori and senate, was at once magnanimous and political, as it secured to him their confidence and support in all his undertakings. He possessed every qualification of the most skilful general; active, brave, fruitful in stratagems, cool and intrepid in action. In private life his character was extremely amiable. He was so fond of his children, that he sometimes joined with them even in their amusements. He was likewise a most affectionate and warm friend. In his old age he became haughty, imperious, and more restless than ever, breathing nothing but war; and he is reproached with having sacrificed the repose and welfare of his country to his hatred of the Messenians and Thebans. His eulogium is written in the most masterly manner by Xenophon.

About this time died Artaxerxes Mnemon, 357. king of Persia, in an advanced age, and borne down with sorrow at the conspiracies formed against his life by his own children, who were become impatient to possess his throne. Ochus, the most wicked of his sons, having procured the assassination of his two brothers, succeeded Artaxerxes in the kingdom. This Ochus was the worst prince of his race, and rendered himself infamous by his cruelty; for he put to death, without any scruple, all the princes and princesses of his blood, and all others who gave him the least uneasiness. Ochus, on receiving some cause of discontent from Artabazus governor of one of the provinces of Asia, sent against him an army of 62,000 men. But the Athenian Chares, whom the satrap had prevailed on to

assist him, entirely routed his army with a small fleet and some Greek soldiers. The Athenians, intimidated by the threats of Ochus, recalled Chares. Artabazus, to supply the place of Chares, obtained of the Thebans a reinforcement of 5000 men, commanded by Pammenes, and with their assistance beat the army of Ochus a second time. But that prince having prevailed on the Thebans, by means of a large sum of money, to withdraw their troops likewise, Artazabus found himself unable to make head against him any longer, and therefore took refuge with Philip king of Macedon.

This year war broke out again between the Athenians and their allies; the islands of Chios, Cos, Rhodes, and the city of Byzantium, having entered into a confederacy to render themselves independent of Athens. To reduce those revoltors to obedience, required the most powerful forces, and the best generals the Athenians then possessed. On this occasion Chabrias, Iphicrates, and Timotheus acquired great glory. According to Cornelius Nepos, these were the last Athenian commanders whose names deserve to be perpetuated in history.

The war on the part of the Athenians began with the siege of Chios, which was quickly relieved by the allies. There Chares commanded the army, and Chabrias the fleet. Chabrias forced his passage into the harbour; but being deserted by the other galleys, whose commanders were afraid to follow him, his own was surrounded and pierced through and through. He nevertheless obstinately refused to quit his ship and save himself by swimming, as he might have done, and therefore perished along with her. Chabrias had formerly acquired a high reputation, and especially when he was sent to the relief of the Thebans against the Spartans. In an action that happened on that occasion, seeing himself abandoned by his allies, he ordered his soldiers to close their ranks, and stooping down to the ground on one knee, to cover themselves with their

shields, and to extend their spears. In this singular position he sustained the attack of the enemy, who found it impossible to break his ranks. On that account the Athenians erected a statue to his memory, in the posture in which he then fought.

Chares succeeded Chabrias in the command of the fleet. But the Athenians finding their enterprise against Chios proceeding but slowly, relinquished it altogether; and at the same time fitted out a second fleet of 60 galleys, which they put under the command of Iphicrates, and of Timotheus the son of the famous Conon. The Athenians, by laying siege to Byzantium, obliged the allies to relinquish that of Samos, which they had undertaken about the same time, and to fly to the relief of Byzantium. A violent tempest coming on just as they were on the point of engaging, Chares, naturally a presumptuous man, insisted, notwithstanding, that they should attack the enemy, contrary to the opinion both of Iphicrates and Timotheus, who would by no means consent to hazard a battle in such circumstances. Chares, provoked at their refusal, sent letters to Athens, in which he complained loudly of his colleagues; and his powerful faction in the city did not fail to support his complaints. The Athenians having brought Iphicrates and Timotheus to trial, imposed a fine of 100 talents on Timotheus, who, on a former occasion, had gained to his countrymen, from its enemies, no less a sum than 1200 talents, without reserving the smallest part of it for himself. This is a remarkable instance of the ingratitude of the giddy worthless mob that governed Athens.

Timotheus, provoked at so unjust a treatment, retired to Chalcidas, where he ended his days a few years after. It is remarked of this illustrious Athenian, that it was he who completely restored to his countrymen their superiority at sea; a revolution indeed which his father had begun. Timotheus was besides a man of great learning, and distinguished himself no less by his eloquence than by his

strong and just taste for the sciences. The uninterrupted success that attended him in all his enterprises, drew upon him much envy, and gave occasion to a piece of painting, in which Timotheus was represented asleep, with fortune at his side, taking towns with a net. Timotheus, piqued at this insult, maintained, that his success was chiefly owing to his abilities: And as for the picture, he observed with a great deal of wit, “If I take towns while asleep, what might I not perform if awake?” It appears, however, from what we have just now related, that fortune wearied at last of lavishing her favours upon him.

Iphicrates being likewise called to stand trial, and not thinking it sufficient to depend entirely upon the force of arguments, introduced into the assembly a number of young men armed with daggers; of which they took care now and then to discover the points to the view of the judges. This new method of pleading his defence produced all the intended effect. The judges were intimidated, and acquitted Iphicrates. The fickle disposition of the people of Athens, who always behaved with the highest ingratitude to their best generals, may, in a great measure, excuse this singular stratagem. This capricious ungrateful conduct is likewise assigned as one of the principal causes of the ruin of their republic; those men who were possessed of abilities to serve the state, being often obliged to provide for their personal security by a voluntary exile; by which means Athens could no longer find generals to command its armies.

To return to Iphicrates. That brave man had particularly distinguished himself, when very young, in a sea-fight; and his merit soon procured him the honour of the chief command. No Greek general ever understood the military art better than he. He was extremely rigorous in enforcing a strict discipline among his troops, by which he had made them so expert at every kind of evolution, that in-

stantly on perceiving the proper signal, they performed the motion required. These troops were distinguished from the rest by the name of Iphicratians. He invented a more convenient sort of arms and clothing for the soldiers, particularly by lengthening their spears and swords. In a word, he bestowed so much attention on the most minute particular relating to the business of war, that he seemed to have been expressly formed by nature for the profession of arms. He was endued with such strength of body, that once in a sea-engagement, he seized his antagonist in his arms, and carried him, armed as he was, into his own ship. He is said to have been of mean extraction. But his sentiments were far from discovering any tincture of a low birth. Never indeed did any man possess a more lofty soul; and his son Menistheus thought himself more honoured by being descended of such a father, than by having a princess, the daughter of Cotys king of Thrace, for his mother. Iphicrates, on being upbraided with the meanness of his birth, by one who was descended of Harmoditus, answered, "It is true the nobility of my family begins in myself, while that of yours ends in you."

Chares, after having accomplished the disgrace of his colleagues, soon made it evident how unworthy he was to supply their place. Being as avaricious as vain, he suffered himself to be corrupted by Artabazus satrap of Asia Minor, then warmly pressed by the Persian monarch, and was lucky enough to relieve him from the danger wherewith he was threatened. On that occasion he was accused of having abandoned the service of the republic, but had interest enough to screen himself from the punishment he deserved. The Athenians, dreading the resentment of the king of Persia, bestirred themselves to bring about a general peace, to which they had been long exhorted by the excellent orations of Isocrates; who, recalling to their remembrance the glorious days of Athens, when their ancestors sacrificed every

consideration to the maintaining of the liberties of Greece, represented to them, that the real greatness of a state consists, not in the extent of its conquests, which it can never effect without some degree of injustice, but in wisely governing its subjects, and, by justice and moderation, making itself to be beloved by its neighbours. This war, after continuing three years, was at length terminated by a peace; of which the chief condition was, that Rhodes, Byzantium, Chios, and Cos, should enjoy perfect liberty.



C H A P. III.

Transactions in Greece, from the conclusion of the war of the allies, to the death of Philip King of Macedon.

THE Athenians now finding themselves in security and leisure by the peace just concluded, gave a loose to their pleasures, and particularly to their inclination for public shows and diversions, which they carried to the highest pitch of extravagance. Pericles had been very instrumental in inspiring them with this taste, principally from political motives, to please and to amuse his restless countrymen, that he might acquire their affection, and divert them from caballing against his administration; and partly from a natural elegance of mind, which rendered him partial to an amusement at once the most rational, ingenious, and instructive, that ever was devised. But the incomparable dramatic pieces which graced the Attic stage, had at length so bewitched the imaginations of that lively people, that they became fond of them even to folly; and to the gratification of their theatrical taste they sacrificed the glory and business of the state. The poets and comedians became the idols of the people; and, by engrossing the whole public attention, made those who had exposed their lives for the interest of the commonwealth to be quite overlooked. The pub-

lic money was lavished away upon buffons and singers; and the annual expence of the theatre alone exceeded that of an ordinary campaign. To support those foolish extravagances, they appropriated the funds set apart for the exigencies of the state, prohibiting at the same time, under pain of death, every person from proposing any other application of those funds. A people so obstinately blind to its most important interests deserved to be chastised for its folly, by becoming a prey to some of its more virtuous neighbours.

While the Athenians, and, after their example, most of the other Greeks, gave themselves up in this manner to luxury and pleasure, the Macedonians, till then an obscure nation, formed a design of profiting by their lethargy, and meditated the conquest of their country. They had been always regarded as barbarians by the Greeks, who continued to give them that appellation till they had carried their victorious arms into Asia. The descendants of Caranus, the first king of Macedonia of whom we have any knowledge, had reigned without interruption in that kingdom down to the period of which we now speak.

We have mentioned above, that Perdiccas, the son of Amyntas, having mounted the throne, a dispute on that head had arisen between him and his brother Ptolemy, which by mutual consent was referred to the judgment of Pelopidas. The matter was by Pelopidas decided in favour of Perdiccas: and the more effectually to enforce his decision, Pelopidas carried along with him to Thebes, Philip the third son of Amyntas, then a boy about ten years old. This happened about the year before Christ 373.

Philip received his education in the family of Epaminondas; and, to the misfortune of Greece, profited but too well by the lessons of that great master in the art of war. From the manner in which he opened his way to the throne, he soon

displayed a genius capable of the greatest undertakings.

He had remained now ten years at Thebes, when he got notice that Perdiccas was slain in a battle with the Illyrians, and had left behind him an only son, Amyntas, yet an infant. An ambitious mind has its attention constantly fixed upon the means that may conduct to its object. Philip withdraws in secret from Thebes, arrives in Macedonia, obtains himself to be declared tutor to his nephew, and in that quality assumes the government of the kingdom. The Macedonians having been lately worsted in war, were now surrounded with enemies, who were making dispositions to profit by their misfortunes. Philip therefore immediately applied himself to reanimate their courage, to gain the affection of the people, and to discipline the troops.

360. The Macedonians, full of admiration of his great qualities, deposed his nephew, and advanced him to the throne. Philip, then about twenty-four years of age, hastened to fulfil the public expectations. The talent of speaking, which he already possessed in an eminent degree, gained him universal confidence and affection.

His first care was the restoration of military discipline, a point upon which he shewed himself extremely severe. But at the same time, to induce the soldiers to serve with greater zeal, he treated them in other respects with singular kindness and distinction, usually calling them by the flattering name of companions. It was Philip who instituted the Macedonian phalanx, a battalion in the form of a long square, having 1000 men in front, with sixteen in depth, all armed with spears about twenty-three feet long. This phalanx presented an impenetrable rampart, and marched so close as to be able to sustain the most violent shocks of an enemy, and at the same time to bear down every thing that opposed it. The famous Roman, Paulus Æmilius, who in his battle with Perseus, the last king of Ma-

cedonia, was opposed by such a phalanx, declared, that he had never seen any appearance more capable of striking terror, and had even trembled at it himself. But as this body was under a necessity of moving altogether, its strength consisting entirely in its union, it always required a plain field to act on, otherwise it was no longer invincible.

To secure himself on the throne, Philip's chief care was to remove his competitors out of the way, to extinguish domestic factions, and to subdue his enemies by repeated victories. Overawed at this time by the Athenian power, he endeavoured to negotiate a treaty with them, and succeeded. But this treaty was of short continuance, as we shall by and by see.—To return to Athens.

In that city a man began about this time to appear, whose extraordinary merit was soon to make a great figure in the affairs of Greece. By the extent of his genius, and the power of his eloquence, he was destined often to frustrate the designs of Philip, and to be a continual check upon all his enterprises. This was the famous Demosthenes. It is proper for a moment to fix our particular attention on this wonderful man.

He was born at Athens in the year before Christ 382, two years after Philip, of a father, by trade a blacksmith, but one of the most considerable in his profession. He was left an orphan very young. Happening to be a witness of the applause bestowed on the orator Callistratus, he conceived a violent desire to acquire glory by the same means, and dedicated himself entirely to the study of rhetoric. His voice was weak, and his articulation confused, stammering, and indistinct. He had a disagreeable tone of declamation; and a person void of all those exterior advantages, which are calculated to prepossess the favour of an audience, and which pave, as it were, the way to persuasion. Those imperfections would have prevented any other person from pursuing the career of public speaking. But De-

mosthenes resolved to exert his utmost efforts to overcome them ; and for that purpose employed the most painful expedients ; sometimes declaiming while climbing up steep places, in order to strengthen his voice ; and sometimes profiting by the advice and example of the principal comedians of his time, from whom he learned the graces of action.

It is true, that in other respects he had received from nature some of the happiest dispositions for a public speaker. He possessed an accurate taste for all the refinements of the Greek language, amazing talents for composition, and extraordinary ingenuity in argument ;—qualities indeed that, like most others natural to man, may be extremely improved by exercise, and which the uncommon application of Demosthenes carried to their highest pitch. Of this his admirable orations exhibit the most complete proof.

It was not long before he reaped the fruit of his obstinate application. The fame of his eloquence drew people from the extremities of Greece to hear him ; and he soon stood unrivalled among his own countrymen. His eloquence was serious and correct ; but withal sublime, bold, and impetuous. His orations abound with metaphors and allusions. He invokes the gods, the stars, the names of those who fell at Marathon and Salamis. But the force of his action constituted his chief characteristic. The times required such an orator. The Athenians, absorbed in the most supine indolence, and consuming their time in private contests and jealousies, required the strongest and most striking figures of rhetoric to rouse them from their lethargy, and to open their eyes to the dangers by which they were threatened. The arguments of Demosthenes made the deeper impressions, as an ardent zeal for the welfare of his country, and a perfect disinterestedness, were well known to be the motives and principles upon which he acted. Demades and his other rivals used to tell him, by way of reproach, that his discourses smelled

of the oil and lamp. But Demosthenes very properly replied, That it were disrespectful to a full assembly of the citizens, to presume to speak in their presence without being properly prepared.—To return to the affairs of Greece.

Two years after the war of the allies, the extraordinary warlike preparations of the Persian monarch alarmed the Athenians, who were incited by their orators immediately to take up arms, and to commence hostilities. But Demosthenes, who, though then only twenty-eight years of age, was beginning to distinguish himself, represented to the Athenians, that they ought to do nothing rashly, nor by a premature declaration of war to furnish so powerful a prince with a pretext for turning his arms against Greece. In the mean time, however, he advised them to fit out a fleet, and to hold all their troops in readiness.

The Lacedemonians about this time conceived the design of making themselves masters of Megalopolis, a fortified town of Arcadia, which gave them much uneasiness. On that occasion Demosthenes again harangued the Athenians in favour of the Megalopolitans. He convinced them, that it concerned them very nearly to prevent both Sparta and Thebes from becoming too powerful: and his eloquence had the effect of determining the Athenians to send 3000 men to the relief of that town, notwithstanding the alliance that then subsisted between them and the Lacedemonians.

Philip having made the necessary preparations for war, defeated the Illyrians in a pitched battle, and reduced Amphipolis, an Athenian colony. As he could not keep possession of this place without provoking the Athenians, with whom it was at present his interest to keep fair, and being unwilling at the same time to leave in their hands one of the keys of his kingdom, he resolved to declare it free; and accordingly granted permission to the inhabitants to form themselves into an independent re-

public. Shortly after, however, by means of his influence within the town, he made himself master of it a second time. But it must be confessed, that this was in a great measure owing to the negligence of the Athenians, who were too dilatory in sending troops to its relief. He likewise reduced Potidea, and dismissed the Athenian garrison which he found in the place. But still pretending to be desirous of avoiding a rupture with the Athenians, he used every art to lull them into security with respect to their real interests. Soon after he subdued the Peonians, and recovered from the Illyrians the places of which they held possession in Macedonia.

Philip soon showed himself to be a thorough politician, by putting in practice every resource of that art, to extend his conquests; sometimes employing stratagems, sometimes promises; weakening those whom he could not conquer, and insinuating himself into the quarrels of Greece under the character of umpire. About this time he got possession of Cnidos, which he called after his own name, Philippi. The taking of this town, which became very famous a long while after by the battle fought in its neighbourhood, in which Brutus and Cassius were defeated, was more advantageous to Philip than the greatest conquest. For having discovered some gold mines in its neighbourhood, he caused them to be opened, and drew from them yearly about 1000 talents; a sum exceeding the whole revenues of Athens. With this money he found himself in a situation to keep up a powerful army, and likewise to maintain spies and partizans among the nations around. This gold opened him the gates of many towns, and accelerated the success of all his enterprises. He is even reported to have declared, that he believed no town impregnable, which could admit the entrance of a mule loaded with gold. On this account his gold is said to have subdued Greece.

The Athenians were not at this time in a situation to watch over the enterprises of Philip, being

engaged in a contest to which the island of Eubœa had given occasion. That island was disturbed by two factions : one of which favoured the Thebans, and the other the Athenians. The matter was of importance to the latter, who derived a part of their revenues from Eubœa. They therefore sent out a fleet, expelled the Thebans, and put an end to the dissensions.

In the year before Christ 356, Olympias, 356. the wife of Philip, brought him a son who was named Alexander, and whose mighty exploits procured him in the sequel the appellation of the Great. It is remarkable that the famous temple of Diana at Ephesus, accounted one of the seven wonders of the world, was burnt the same day that Alexander the Great was born. The person who set this superb edifice on fire was called Erostratus. When put to the torture, he declared, that his motive for committing so mischievous an action was to immortalise his name. Philip was from home when his son was born. At the same time that he received this welcome piece of news, intelligence of two other particulars of the most agreeable nature was likewise brought him, namely, of his being victor in the chariot-races at the Olympic games, and of a signal victory obtained over the Illyrians by his general Parmenio.

Philip being resolved to have his son educated in the most perfect and complete manner, instantly wrote to the famous Aristotle in these terms ; “ I give you notice that I have gotten a son. I thank the gods, not so much for bestowing this son upon me, as for having bestowed him in your time ; for I have reason to flatter myself, that you will form for me a successor worthy of me.”

The sacred war, or the war of the Phœceans, 355. succeeded that of the allies. It became general among the states of Greece, was carried on for ten years with great animosity, and was extremely destructive in its consequences to all the

parties concerned. Religion was the pretence for it; and the cause that produced it was very trifling. The Phoceans having tilled a piece of ground belonging to the temple of Apollo, which was situated in their territory, were accused of sacrilege by their neighbours, and were cited to answer for their conduct before the amphictyons, who condemned the Phoceans in a large fine. The latter refused to comply with this sentence, alleging that they were entitled to the exclusive management both of the temple and its territory: and they applied for aid to the Spartans, who furnished them underhand with money, and encouraged them to persist in their obstinacy.

Philomelus, a man of a daring spirit, who possessed great influence among his countrymen the Phoceans, persuaded them to take arms, levied troops, seized on the temple of Delphos, effaced the decree of the amphictyons, which was engraved on a pillar of the temple, and by threats obliged the priestess of Apollo to give a response approving of all his proceedings. The Locrians attempted to oppose this enterprise of the Phoceans, but were worsted in several encounters. The matter now became serious. The amphictyons assembled, and passed a decree, declaring, That war ought to be made on the Phoceans. Each state of Greece immediately took part in the dispute, according as their different interests inclined them. The Athenians and Spartans joined the Phoceans: the Thebans, Locrians, Thesalians, and the rest of the states, took arms against them. Thus began the sacred war.

Philomelus, notwithstanding an oath he had sworn not to meddle with the treasure of the temple, took from thence what money was necessary for the expences of the war, and raised an army of 10,000 men. At first several engagements were fought with various success. But this, like every other of which religion is made the pretence, where, under colour of religious zeal, parties indulge pri-

vate resentment, was carried on with great cruelty. The Thebans, the most active and zealous of all, having surprised a party of the Phoceans, condemned them all to death as guilty of sacrilege. On the other side, the Phoceans, in revenge for this cruelty, thought themselves entitled to treat in like manner such of their enemies as fell into their hands. At last a battle ensued between the Phoceans and the Thebans, in which the former were defeated with great slaughter, their general Philomelus being killed on the spot, after behaving with a bravery that showed him worthy of conducting a better undertaking. His brother Onomarchus succeeded him in the command; assembled the remains of the Phocæan army; and by the temptation of high pay, soon raised a formidable army, with which he made himself master of several places belonging to the enemy.

The order of time requires, that we should here digress a little, to make mention of Artemisia queen of Caria, and wife of Mausolus. That prince had subjected to his power the people of Rhodes and of Cos, very soon after they had been by the late peace restored to the full enjoyment of their liberty. He is reported to have treated the conquered people with great severity, and to have died the year after his conquest. But the grief of his widow Artemisia, and the sumptuous tomb erected by her to his memory, have immortalized the names both of the husband and of the wife. Not satisfied, however, with honouring him in that manner, she had his ashes carefully preserved and constantly mixed with her drink, till at last her body became literally the sepulchre of that of her husband. She desired funeral orations to be composed to his praise, and published a reward to the person that should furnish the best. It is said that the oration presented by Theopompus was preferred, though his master Isocrates was one of the competitors. The grief of Artemisia continued till her death, which was there-

by hastened, and happened two years after that of Mausolus. Some authors, however, tell us, that Artemisia was not so entirely occupied with her mourning, but that she found time to make considerable conquests. For she surprised the fleet of the Rhodians, who had resolved to attempt
352. her dethronement; obtained possession of Rhodes, and put to death the principal inhabitants. Hence some authors have taken occasion to call in question the particulars related of her grief. But it is possible for the same person to be at once possessed of very tender feelings, and of the resolution requisite for maintaining his authority, and chastising his enemies. It was on this occasion that the Rhodians applied to the Athenians for assistance; and Demosthenes having become their patron, endeavoured by his eloquence to excite the compassion of his countrymen in favour of that people, whose manners had rendered them unworthy of being protected.

Philip at first took no part in the sacred war. Being more concerned about his own private interests than about the insult offered to Apollo, he was not at all dissatisfied to see the states of Greece weakening each other by a cruel and ruinous war. While therefore they were destroying one another, he was solely intent on extending his dominions, securing his conquests on the side of Thrace, and reducing such places as were advantageously situated for him. When besieging Methone, a citizen of Amphipolis, named Aster, offered him his service as so expert an archer, that he never missed the smallest bird on the wing. But Philip told him, he would employ him when he had a war with the swallows. The man was so provoked at this answer, that he threw himself into the place, aimed at Philip an arrow, with this inscription, "For Philip's right eye;" and in effect pierced that eye. Philip returned the arrow, with this other inscription, "If Philip take the town, he will hang up Aster;" and

having taken the town accordingly, he was as good as his word. After this accident, that prince was weak enough to be offended when any person happened in his presence to mention a cyclops.

Lycophron, brother-in-law to Alexander of Phæra, having succeeded that prince in the kingdom, imitated his tyranny, and provoked his subjects to rebel. The Thessalians applied for protection to Philip: who being otherwise well disposed to oblige them, immediately went in pursuit of the tyrant, and defeated him in several engagements.

Onomarchus, in the mean time, the general of the Phoceans, was more successful than his brother, and had taken several cities in Bœotia, the Thebans being unable to make opposition. He was even daring enough to make head against Philip in his war on Lycophron, and defeated him in two skirmishes; but a general engagement having ensued, 6000 of the Phoceans were slain, and the rest put to flight. Onomarchus was among the killed; and Philip took 3000 prisoners. Besides other advantages that accrued to Philip from this victory, it procured him the character of a prince devoted to the interests of religion. His success was in a great measure owing to the Thessalian horse that fought in his army.

Phaillus, the brother of Onomarchus, succeeded to the command among the Phoceans; made use of the riches of the temple of Delphos, as his predecessors had done, to raise new forces; augmented still further the pay of the soldiers, and by that means increased the number of his troops. He was at first unsuccessful against the Thebans; but for that, his advantage over the Locrians made amends. Death, however, soon stopt his career; whereupon a son of Onomarchus, named Phalenius, assumed the command. But his authority was of short duration. He fell in his first engagement.

Hostilities, in the mean time, daily continuing, the Thebans were the first who grew weary of the

war; for their finances being at length totally exhausted, they found themselves unable to support it any longer. The Phoceans, on the other hand, were seized with remorse for having authorised their generals to plunder the temple of Apollo. On an account being drawn up of all the money they had thence abstracted, the whole sum was found to amount to 10,000 talents.

351. About the same time, the Phoceans, provoked by the cruel oppression with which they were treated by the satraps, entered into an alliance with Nectanebus king of Egypt, revolted against the Persian monarch, and with the assistance of 4000 Greek troops, sent to their aid by the king of Egypt, under the command of Memnon the Rhodian, succeeded in expelling the Persians from their country. The inhabitants of Cyprus, who were as much oppressed as the Phenicians, joined the latter in the revolt. Ochus applied to the Greeks for assistance to subdue the rebels, and obtained 8000 men under the command of Phocion the Athenian, and Evagoras the son of Nicocles. These two brave captains, on being joined by a body of Syrian and Cicilian soldiers, formed the siege of Salamis, the most important city of Cyprus. The army dispatched by Ochus against Phenicia consisted of 300,000 foot and 30,000 horse. Memnon, intimidated by the approach of so powerful an army, entered into a private treaty with Ochus, and offered to put him in possession of Sidon. The Sidonians, to the number of 40,000 persons, finding themselves betrayed, shut themselves up in their houses, set fire to them, and perished in the flames. The rest of the Phenicians, terrified by the dreadful fate of the Sidonians, immediately made their submission to the king of Persia.

Ochus having terminated with equal success the rebellion of the Cyprians, marched next into Egypt, which he resolved likewise to subdue; and he was so effectually served by his generals, that he com-

pleted the conquest of that kingdom in a very short time. Nectanebus, apprehensive of falling into the hands of the victor, fled with his army into Æthiopia, from whence he never returned. Ochus, after dismantling the cities, and pillaging the temples, returned in triumph to Babylon. Memnon the Rhodian, and his brother Mentor, after their reconciliation with the Persian monarch, rendered him very important services, especially Memnon, who was an excellent commander.

Ochus spent the rest of his life immersed in indolence and pleasure, committing the whole management of public affairs to the eunuch Bagoas an Egyptian. That favourite, provoked at his master for having polluted the Egyptian temples, and for having killed their god Apis, which was no other than a sacred bull, in revenge deprived him of his life by poison. The eunuch finding himself, by that event, invested with the whole power of Persia, advanced to the throne Arses the youngest of the late king's sons. But perceiving that young prince to discover some uneasiness at finding himself to be no more than a titular king, Bagoas got him assassinated, and put in his place Darius Codomannus.

Philip, who was constantly attentive to every circumstance that might turn to his advantage, perceiving the states of Greece to be greatly weakened by their intestine wars, resolved to attempt the conquest of them. With that view he led an army towards the country of Phocis, and, for the first time, entered Greece with hostile intentions. The defile of Thermopylæ being the only pass by which he could penetrate into Achaia, he endeavoured to take possession of it, under the pretence of marching against the Phoceans. But the Athenians having prevented him, he did not think it advisable to force the passage, and therefore relinquished the project for the present.

Philip owed his disappointment on this occasion to the eloquence of Demosthenes, who roused the

attention, and animated the courage, of his fellow-citizens by a celebrated oration. The Athenians, now wholly taken up with their games and shows, as we have already remarked, had occasion for a man of such discernment and prudence, of such persuasive eloquence, and actuated by so sincere a regard for his country, as this famous orator was, to rouse them from their lethargy. Demosthenes made them sensible of the danger they ran from the exorbitant ambition of Philip, who was continually employed about some new enterprise; and he persuaded them, that the success of Philip's arms was altogether owing to their indolence and inattention. "While, therefore," said he, "you spend your time in walking about in the forum, inquiring at one another, *What is the news?* what more wonderful a piece of news would you desire, than that a Macedonian is making quick advances towards obtaining a superiority over the Athenians, and becoming the sovereign arbiter of Greece?" He proceeded to lay before them the proper means for checking the progress of Philip. He advised them to fit out, with all convenient speed, a fleet of fifty galleys; to muster up as great an army as possible from among themselves; to take into their pay as many foreign troops as their finances would allow; and constantly to keep up an army of observation on the frontiers of Macedonia, to harass Philip, and to hold him in awe. To convince them of the expediency and possibility of complying with his advice, he entered into a very minute detail of particulars, and, on the whole, laid before them the most useful and salutary instructions.

While the Athenians were deliberating about putting in execution the plans proposed by Demosthenes, Philip, after his disappointment at Thermopylæ employed himself in extending his conquests on the side of Thrace. He reduced most of the cities along the coast of the Hellespont; and, by thus increasing his power, was in a manner paving the

way to the accomplishment of his designs on Greece. Having at last laid siege to Olynthus, a city possessed by an Athenian colony, the inhabitants implored the protection of the Athenians; who desired to deliberate on the affair, and to hear the opinions of their orators. Demosthenes spoke on this occasion in favour of the Olynthians; and this oration is commonly intitled his first Olynthian.

He there represents Philip, in the first place, as an ambitious and dangerous prince, a shrewd politician, an indefatigable warrior; and as a man who, when force and stratagem failed, was extremely skilful in accomplishing his purposes by a proper application of gold. In the next place, he describes him as being imprudent, rash, deceitful, debauched, and irreligious; and, for all these reasons, easy to be conquered. Hence he inferred that the Athenians ought to reform the abuses that had crept into the government, to make an end of private quarrels, and to combine their united efforts against their common enemy. Demosthenes enforced his opinion with such strength of argument, and such a power of eloquence, that he confounded the orators who spoke in favour of Philip, and carried his point. For Philip already had his creatures in Athens, and among the rest, the orator Demades, a very acute and artful reasoner. In the mean time, thirty galleys were, in consequence of the advice of Demosthenes, dispatched under the command of Chares to the assistance of the Olynthians.

Philip himself avowed, that Demosthenes alone could thwart his designs more than all the fleets and armies of Greece united. But as that prince was making a rapid progress in the country of Olynthia, the apprehensions of the Olynthians increased, and they sent to Athens for fresh succours. Demosthenes still acted as their patron; and, on this occasion, pronounced his third Olynthian. To prevail on the Athenians to persist in assisting them, he endeavoured to excite their compassion, by giving

them a lively description of the miseries that threatened the Olynthians, unless they interposed in their behalf, and exerted their utmost efforts to frustrate the attempts of Philip. He hinted, in the most artful manner, that it was absolutely necessary to have recourse to the funds set apart for the expence of the public diversions, and to apply part of them to raise troops. This was a point of extreme delicacy ; for the people had long ago declared their sentiments very explicitly on that head, by prohibiting, under pain of death, any person, under whatever pretence, from proposing to apply to the purposes of war any part of the thousand talents laid up by Pericles as a perpetual fund for defraying the expence of the public diversions, and for furnishing a certain allowance of money to each of the citizens for assisting at the public assemblies. Demosthenes, however, disregarding this danger, listened only to his zeal for the welfare of the state. He took however the most prudent and artful precautions, both for avoiding the danger, and for succeeding in his design, by requiring that commissioners should be named, for examining into such laws as should appear repugnant to the good of the state. But this strange people, who, rather than be deprived of their plays and amusements, would have cheerfully lived on bread and water, looked upon this fund in too sacred a light to be prevailed on, even by the most powerful eloquence of their great orator, to encroach upon it for the most useful of purposes.

In the mean time, a third embassy arrived from the Olynthians, begging an additional reinforcement, not of mercenary soldiers, but of native Athenians. Their request was complied with. But in spite of this reinforcement, Philip, by the treachery of two of the citizens, obtained possession of the town, where he found great riches. He made one half of the inhabitants prisoners, and sold the other. As for the traitors who had betrayed the city to him, he abandoned them to the insults of the Ma-

cedonian soldiers ; telling them ironically, that they ought not to regard the expressions of a parcel of unmannerly fellows, who called every thing by its proper name. Philip, highly delighted with having gotten possession of so important a post, celebrated his victory with games and shows.

The Thebans, exhausted by their war with 347. the Phoceans, and finding themselves unable to bring it to an honourable conclusion, implored the assistance of Philip. Nothing could be more imprudent than to call that prince into Greece at this time, when he desired nothing more ardently than, under so specious a pretext as the espousing of their quarrel, to get a footing in that country ; and this opportunity gave him the greater pleasure, as he wished to pass for a religious prince. But the inveterate hatred entertained by the Thebans against the Phoceans made them blind to every other consideration, and reduced them to resort to this dangerous expedient, which eventually occasioned their ruin. For it may be truly said that the Thebans by this step framed chains for Greece.

About the same time, the orator Isocrates, a very zealous citizen of Athens, undertook, though then of a very advanced age, to compose an oration addressed to Philip, with whom he was much connected, to dissuade him from his designs against Greece. In this oration he used many arguments to persuade that prince to restore the general tranquillity of Greece ; which, he assured him, would do him more honour than the most brilliant conquests. He advised him to turn his arms against the Persians ; and he concluded with telling him, that though the Athenians, his fellow-citizens, were much prejudiced against him, and thought him an artful and deceitful prince ; yet, for his own part, he never could permit himself to believe, that a descendant of Hercules would ever enslave the Greeks. Isocrates was then eighty years old, an age at which men are commonly very credulous and very positive. It

was not probable that a prince of Philip's character, who hearkened to no suggestions but those of ambition, would suffer himself to be cajoled by the flattery of a rhetorician, though couched in ever so fine words. At the same time, it is not unlikely that Philip entertained some remote intentions of making war on the Persians; but he desired first to reduce Greece under his power. About this time the Athenians sent him an embassy, with a view to sound his real designs about a general peace. But Philip amused the ambassadors with a sham treaty, in which, however, he refused to comprehend the Phoceans. It is even alleged that he won over to his interest all the ambassadors except Demosthenes; and that they protracted the period of their embassy to give Philip time to advance with his army into the county of Phocis.

By this treaty Philip engaged to deliver Eubœa to the Athenians, by way of equivalent for Amphipolis, and to repeople the cities of Thespia and Plataea, in spite of the Thebans. But it may be remarked, that that prince paid very little regard to treaties or alliances. The admonitions of Demosthenes were neglected; for Æschines, who was now corrupted by Philip's gold, assured the Athenians, that Philip acted on all occasions with the strictest integrity. Philip, therefore, pursued his schemes without disturbance; and having made himself master of the pass of Thermopylæ, entered the country of Phocis, and spread terror and consternation all around. The Phoceans, thinking themselves on the brink of destruction, sued for peace; of which they referred the conditions entirely to the mercy of Philip, who obliged them to retire within the Peloponnesus. This success, obtained almost without any expence, made Philip famous through all Greece.

Philip, in the mean time, was deliberating about making the most of his advantage. Having, for that purpose, corrupted the judges of the council of the amphictyons, he prevailed upon them to as-

semble, and to pass a decree, enjoining the demolition of all the cities in the country of Phocis, and reducing them to the condition of simple villages; the inhabitants of which were to pay an annual tribute. At the same time, he procured admission for himself into that celebrated assembly, with the privilege of a double vote, by way of recompense for his having vindicated and enforced the former sentence of the amphictyons, which the Phoceans had treated with such disrespect. This point was of high importance to Philip, and contributed not a little to the success of his subsequent enterprises.

On receiving intelligence of these transactions, the eyes of the Athenians were at last opened, and they were now convinced of their error, in not supporting their allies, as Demosthenes had advised. Perceiving Philip to be now master of the pass of Thermopylæ, in consequence of his conquest of the country of Phocis, they, with good reason, grew apprehensive for the safety of their own city, and gave orders to fortify Pyreus. But Philip, satisfied with having obtained a firm footing in Greece, put an end to the sacred war, which had now continued for the space of ten years, and acquired, in the opinion of this superstitious people, the character of a religious prince, although ambition alone was the real motive of his whole conduct. Not thinking it advisable to push his advantage any further for the present, Philip quietly returned into his own dominions.

Philip next required the states of Greece to confirm the sentence of the amphictyons, admitting him one of their number. Many of the Athenians were for paying no regard to the sentence. But Demosthenes, in his oration for the peace, convinced them, that their refusal to comply with this request might provoke Philip to depart from his engagements; which, in the present conjuncture, was an event by all means to be avoided.

Philip, in the mean time, was not idle. He prosecuted his conquests on the side of Thrace, subdued

the Athenian colonies in that country, and made himself absolute master of Thessaly. Next year he discovered his intentions of reducing the Chersonesus, a very rich peninsula; which, after passing successively under the dominion of the Athenians, the Lacedemonians, and the kings of Thrace, had lately come into the possession of its first masters, all except the city of Cardia, whereof Chersobleptus, son of Cotys king of Thrace, retained the possession. Philip having defeated Chersobleptus, the inhabitants of Cardia, apprehensive lest the Athenians should reclaim the superiority of their city, put themselves under the protection of Philip, who engaged to defend them. Diopithus, governor of the Athenian colony, provoked at this behaviour of Philip, attacked that prince's territories in Thrace, and made a great booty. Philip complained to the Athenians of the irruption of Diopithus. The creatures of Philip supported the justice of this complaint, accused Diopithus of malversations in his office, and used all their influence to procure his condemnation. But Demosthenes undertook the defence of Diopithus, and delivered his oration "on the subject of the Chersonesus." On that occasion, he demonstrated to the Athenians, that the true design of the accusers of Diopithus was, to divert them from examining too minutely into the conduct of Philip; who, with a powerful army, ravaged the Athenian territories, and aimed at nothing less than the utter destruction of their republic. At the same time, he inveighed in the bitterest terms against those venal declaimers retained by Philip; described them as so many domestic enemies, as traitors and vipers nourished by the republic in her bosom, but who would one day sting her to death. He showed in the plainest manner that Philip, being assured that his creatures would be always ready to justify his measures, would, in the same manner, proceed at his leisure to take possession of all the other provinces of the republic; and he concluded,

with exhorting them to put their forces in good order, and to provide for the other exigencies of the state.*

But while Demosthenes was in this manner displaying all the zeal of a worthy citizen, and all the eloquence of the most consummate orator, Philip, now returned from his expedition into Illyria, was uniformly intent on profiting by the distractions of the Greeks, among whom discord had again broken out. The Spartans having in a good measure repaired their late losses, began to disquiet the Argives and Messenians, who complained to Philip, and received from him a very favourable hearing. About the same time the Thebans, actuated by their hatred of Sparta, made proposals to him likewise about forming an alliance against that

342. state. This was more than sufficient for determining Philip to enter the Peloponnesus.

Immediately, therefore, he procured a decree of the amphictyons, enjoining the Lacedemonians to desist from molesting the Argives and Messenians, and to permit them to remain in full enjoyment of their liberty; and, at the same time, he ordered a body of troops to advance towards the frontiers of Laconia. The Spartans, alarmed at these proceedings, dispatched an embassy to Athens, to endeavour to prevail on the Athenians to conclude with them an offensive and defensive alliance, that they might jointly oppose the enterprises of Philip, and provide for their mutual security.

Demosthenes on this occasion gave full vent to his zeal, and pronounced an oration, wherein he demonstrated the justice and expediency of complying with the request of the Lacedemonians; set in a clearer light still the ambitious intentions of Philip, and made it very evident that he aimed at nothing less than the total subjection of Greece.

* About this time, viz. in the year before Christ 343, a war broke out between the Romans and Samnites, which continued seventy-one years with various success; but terminated at last in the complete conquest of the latter.

“ Philip (says he) excels you as much in acting, as you do him in speaking ; he is at this moment advancing troops against the Peloponnesus. Can you imagine that you shall remain in safety, when this prince is in possession of the whole country around you ?” In a word, Demosthenes made use of every argument to rouse the Athenians from their lethargy, and to persuade them to assist the Lacedemonians. The partisans of Philip, on the other hand, represented to the Athenians, that as that prince had hitherto committed nothing contrary to the treaties subsisting between him and the republic, it were unjust in the latter to declare war against him ; and indeed in a literal sense this was true. But in the meantime Philip, unwilling to draw upon himself the united force of all Greece, relinquished his enterprise against the Peloponnesus, and turned his thoughts to the conquest of Eubœa, which he used to call “ the shackles of Greece.” Having procured good intelligence within the island, he found means to corrupt the principal inhabitants with money, landed a considerable body of troops, took the city of Orea, and appointed governors to act under his authority.

The Athenians hearing of the danger they ran of losing that island, quickly sent thither some troops under the command of Phocion, an Athenian general, whose virtue and singular character deserve to be particularly taken notice of.

He was a disciple of Xenocrates, and conformed his life to the most rigid maxims of the philosophy of his master, being remarkably serious in his outward deportment, going always barefooted, and without a cloak, never frequenting the public baths, and being a professed enemy of every sort of flattery. But, notwithstanding this stoical behaviour, he was endued in a supreme degree with the power of eloquence. He did not indeed study the pompous and florid branch of that art ; but confounded his antagonist by the strength of his arguments ; came

directly to the point; and often with a single word confuted the reasoning of the most eloquent orators. On this account Demosthenes used to call him “the pruner of his periods.” This sort of eloquence was much relished by the Athenians, who being a people of a quick lively apprehension, liked to be instructed at a word. Phocion had already engaged in public affairs, and had given proofs of his bravery and other eminent abilities. After the example of Themistocles and Aristides, he thought it best to unite military skill with knowledge in the art of government.

341. Phocion, upon his arrival at Eubœa, finding that Plutarch of Eretria, by an instance of the basest treachery, had changed sides, and taken arms against the very troops whose assistance he had solicited, immediately attacked him, gained a complete victory, expelled him the country, and had the honour of preserving that important island to his countrymen.

Philip, to counterbalance the bad success of his enterprise against Eubœa, resolved to distress the city of Athens by famine. With this view he turned his arms against Thrace, the country whence the Athenians drew the greatest part of their provisions, and he laid siege to Perinthus, a city in the Propontis. But though he invested the place with an army of 30,000 men, and innumerable warlike engines, yet the besieged made so obstinate a resistance, that the Byzantines had time to come to their assistance. Philip formed the plan of making a diversion; and for that purpose marched against Byzantium, to which he laid siege with the half of his army. It was at this time that he sent for his son Alexander, who, though no more than fifteen years of age, had already displayed a bravery and a genius for military affairs altogether extraordinary. This attempt of Philip alarmed Greece, and gave some uneasiness even to Persia. All the states assembled their forces, and Demosthenes once more

exerted his utmost efforts to rouse the Athenians from their indolence. The orations pronounced by that orator on this occasion have obtained the name of Philippics.

In those admirable compositions Demosthenes laboured to prove, that one of the greatest supports of Grecian liberty in ancient times, was the unshaken integrity of its citizens, of whom not one was dastardly or base enough to accept of the wages of corruption from the common enemy, and in return to engage himself to prostitute his talents to forward the ruin of his country; that the perfect union which subsisted among the principal states of Greece, likewise contributed in a high degree to the same glorious end; and that at present their safety and independency depended entirely on their mutual union with one another against the professed enemy of them all. He then showed them that Philip had broken the peace by making a conquest of every place round about them; and that he considered them as his mortal enemies. He said it was absolutely necessary to dispatch an army into the Chersonesus; and to endeavour by every means to prevail with the neighbouring nations to unite their forces, and to stop the progress of his arms.

What Demosthenes said was but too true. Philip was then advancing towards the Chersonesus. It is fit to observe, that Athens at this time swarmed with a multitude of mercenary orators, of whom the greater part being in the pay of Philip, invariably opposed the views of Demosthenes, contradicted his opinions, and by their idle clamours often retarded the good effects produced by his harangues. At present, however, all their endeavours were to no purpose. The Athenians, animated by the force of Demosthenes's eloquence, sent out a fleet under the command of Chares, a man of poor abilities, whose only aim was to enrich himself, and who owed his command to the power of a faction. No sooner, therefore, did he appear on the coast of the Helles-

pont, than the greater part of the cities shut their gates against him.

Philip seeing that the Athenians had at last taken the alarm, endeavoured to quiet them with fine professions. For that purpose he sent them a letter of recrimination, full of complaints very artfully expressed, whereby he endeavoured to show them that peace had been first infringed on their part. He accused them of stirring up the Persians against him; and boasted much of his own strict observance of treaties. This letter, written in a most artful manner, with much dignity and precision, and with all the marks of candour and truth, made it evident that Philip was as skilful a writer as he was a brave soldier; qualities in which he greatly resembled the all-accomplished Julius, the destroyer of the Roman liberty. Demosthenes exerted every resource of his ingenuity to efface the first impressions made by this letter on the minds of the Athenians. He went to the bottom of Philip's allegations, and demonstrated them to be altogether affected and groundless. He proved that Philip himself, and not they, was the first aggressor, by invading the Athenian territories; and that his only view in making the peace was to disarm them, that so he might attack them unprepared. He concluded with telling them plainly, that these complaints of Philip's were equivalent to an open declaration of war; and that therefore they must no longer be sparing either of the public funds or of the wealth of individuals; and above all, that they ought to employ more able commanders.

In consequence of these representations, the Athenians ordered Phocion to march to the relief of Byzantium with a fresh reinforcement. The arrival of that commander, the fame of whose justice and capacity was universally known, disappointed all the schemes of Philip. Phocion behaved with so much prudence and skill, that he obliged Philip to raise the siege of Byzantium. He took several of

his ships; recovered some fortified towns; and forced him to retire from the Hellespont. The Byzantines and Perinthians bestowed on Phocion the highest marks of gratitude and affection. They offered the freedom of their cities, together with some extraordinary privileges, to such of the Athenian soldiers as chose to settle among them. They passed a solemn act, wherein they set forth, that when Philip laid waste their country, and besieged their cities, the Athenians came to their relief with a fleet of 120 ships, and saved them from the extreme miseries wherein they were threatened; and lastly, they erected several statues in honour of the Athenians.

Philip, to repair this disappointment,
338. practised every art to amuse the Athenians, offering proposals of peace, and carrying on with them sham negociations, which he found means to protract for the space of two years. About that time he marched against the Scythians, with an army much less numerous than theirs, and made a considerable booty. The Triballi, a people of Mæsia, opposed his passage back, and obliged him to come to an engagement. The battle proved obstinate and bloody. Philip was wounded, and on the point of being taken by the enemy, when his son Alexander, then in the seventeenth year of his age, hastened to his assistance, and had the glory of rescuing him from this imminent danger. Such were the beginnings of that valour which was soon to astonish the universe.

Philip, desirous of putting a stop to the continual depredations committed on the maritime parts of his dominions by the incursions of the Athenians, renewed his negociations for peace. But Demosthenes convinced the Athenians and Phocion himself, who inclined to listen to Philip's proposals, that that prince intended only to amuse them; and he prevailed with them to continue their hostilities. Philip finding the Athenians deaf to all terms of

accommodation, and sensible at the same time of the superiority of their naval force over his own, had recourse to stratagem, and secretly engaged the Thessalians and Thebans to call him to their assistance, that so he might enter Greece by the permission of both. For this purpose it was necessary to produce a rupture between those states and Athens; and chance favoured his intentions.

The Ozolæ of Locris being cited before the amphictyons, on an accusation of appropriating to their own use certain grounds belonging to the temple of Delphos, commissioners were appointed by the judges to visit the territory in question, and to inquire whether the Ozolæ were the lawful proprietors of it or not. The Ozolæ, thinking themselves unjustly disturbed in their possessions, treated the commissioners of the amphictyons as enemies; and obliged them, by several discharges of darts, to retire precipitately. This behaviour was considered as an act of disobedience highly deserving of punishment. And the orators retained in the pay of Philip, represented to the amphictyons, that war ought to be decreed against that sacrilegious people. But as the Greek states seemed backward to engage in the enterprise, from the apprehension, no doubt, of a second sacred war, the same orators advised the amphictyons to employ foreign troops for the execution of their vengeance, and to choose Philip as their commander-in-chief. The amphictyons, not aware of the consequences of making such a choice, and well pleased to save their respective states the expences of this war, approved of the proposal, and, by a solemn decree, elected Philip commander-in-chief of the Greeks. Ambassadors therefore were sent to beg of him to come and vindicate the cause of religion. Philip instantly assembled an army, entered the country of Phocis, seized on Elatea the capital city of the country, and by that means opened himself a passage into Attica. The Athenians, on receiving in-

telligence of these proceedings, were thrown into great consternation.

Next day an assembly was holden, where none of the other orators attempting to speak, Demosthenes alone endeavoured to encourage the Athenians. As acute a politician as he was a powerful orator, he began by explaining to his countrymen the true nature of the alliance between Philip and the Thebans, which gave them so much uneasiness. He showed them very plainly that the Thebans were far from being so cordially or firmly attached to Philip as they believed. That the taking of Elatea must immediately open their eyes to their real interests; that in the present conjuncture it was highly expedient for the Athenians to support the Thebans, because the ruin of Thebes must infallibly draw after it that of Athens; and that, therefore, they ought to bury in oblivion the enmity subsisting between their state and that of Thebes. He convinced them, that Philip, by the powerful army with which he was attended, meant to terrify into subjection such states as were inclined to oppose him. He therefore advised them to arm all their forces; to dispatch ambassadors to the other states to persuade them to unite in defence of the common liberty; to give notice to the Thebans that they were ready to assist them; and to endeavour by every means to render this a national war, and to form a general confederacy against the common enemy. So comprehensive and penetrating was the genius of Demosthenes, that it constantly suggested to him the best resource on the most pressing occasions. The Athenians perceived the full force of his arguments; complied with his advice in every particular; and passed a very solemn decree to that effect, which did great honour to their good sense and magnanimity.

As the negociation whereby they were to endeavour to persuade the Thebans to accede to the confederacy was of the utmost importance, because the

territory of Bœotia was a barrier to that of Attica, Demosthenes was set at the head of the embassy to Thebes. Philip, at the same time, sent thither ambassadors on his part; one of whom, named Pithon, celebrated for his lively eloquence, spoke first. He put the Thebans in mind of the many services rendered them by Philip; recapitulated the various instances of bad treatment received by them from the Athenians; and exhorted them either to assist Philip in the conquest of Attica, or to remain neuter. Demosthenes spoke next. Provoked by the captious arguments of Pithon, he that day out-did even himself. He convinced the assembly, that the seizure of Elatea sufficiently discovered the designs of Philip, and that the ruin of Athens must infallibly be attended with that of Thebes. Perceiving, however, that the Thebans were disposed to observe a neutrality, and that it was a point of the utmost consequence to prevail with them to enter into the alliance, his imagination continued too warm upon him, and at last threw him into such a wonderful enthusiasm of eloquence, that he astonished the minds of his hearers, and brought them to the point he desired. He described Philip as an ambitious, artful, and deceitful prince, absolutely regardless of good faith or treaties, who had formed the plan of gradually possessing himself of the whole country of Greece, by subduing its states separately, and one after another; he demonstrated that his pretended favours were so many snares; and that it was the interests of both states to unite their whole strength against such a common enemy.

The Thebans, convinced by the arguments of this wonderful man, and inflamed with the love of their country, forgot all former subjects of discontent against their neighbouring state, and entered entirely into the views of the Athenians.

Demosthenes ever after spoke of this negociation with the greatest satisfaction; calling it his masterpiece in eloquence and politics; and telling the

Athenians that he had dissipated the thunder which growled above their heads.

The news of this resolution of the Thebans disconcerted Philip's projects. He therefore betook himself to his old shifts, and very artfully endeavoured to dissuade the Athenians from taking arms, offering them advantageous terms of peace. But as he had by this time lost every degree of credit, they were not silly enough to allow themselves to be blinded by his professions. Nor did they pay more regard to the dreadful responses of the oracle, which Philip made to speak according to his pleasure. On this occasion Demosthenes humourously observed, that Pythia Philipized.

Both sides therefore prepared for war. Philip entered Bœotia with an army of 30,000 foot and 2000 horse. His troops were not much more numerous than those of the Greeks, but they were much better disciplined and commanded. The bravery of the soldiers was nearly equal on both sides; and the Athenians wanted nothing but good generals. For the faction of Chares again raised him to the chief command; and he had got for colleague Lycicles, distinguished by his rashness alone. Thus the only Athenian worthy of commanding, namely Phocion, was altogether excluded from the office. Such are the capital errors which in every state occasion the loss of battles, and all the misfortunes that thence ensue.

The two armies came to an engagement in 338. the neighbourhood of Cheronea in Bœotia.

Philip commanded the right wing of the Macedonian army; and his son Alexander, assisted by the most experienced officers, the left. The battle was fought with great obstinacy, and victory remained long doubtful. Alexander showed himself worthy the command then intrusted to him for the first time; and by his valour and prudence gave signs of what he should become in the end. Falling with great impetuosity upon the Thebans, he

broke and put to flight their sacred battalion, which was the flower of their army. Philip, on the other hand, gained at first some little advantage over the Athenians; but these quickly repairing the disorder, in their turn repulsed the Macedonians. The imprudence, however, of Lysicles, occasioned their ruin. Thinking himself victorious, after having broken the centre of the Macedonians, he pursued the fugitives with a blind impetuosity, instead of attacking the wings of their army in flank. Philip perceived and availed himself of his error. Rallying the wings of his phalanx on a small eminence, he rushed with great fury on the rear of the Athenians, and put them to flight. Here Demosthenes furnished a striking proof, that the same person seldom possesses all qualifications in an equal degree. He threw away his arms, and betook himself to flight. Of the Athenians 1000 were killed and 2000 taken prisoners. But the loss of the Thebans was much greater.

Philip, transported with joy at this victory, erected a trophy, sacrificed to the gods, and gave presents to his officers. It is said, that having next day given a great entertainment, the wine raised him to such an extravagant pitch of joy, that he ran to the field of battle, insulted the dead bodies of his enemies, and fell a dancing, singing at the same time the beginning of the decree drawn up by Demosthenes. It is added, that Demades, who was one of the prisoners, reproached him with his ungenerous behaviour, by telling him, that being Agamemnon, he acted the part of Thersites; and that Philip was so far from being offended at his boldness, that he set him at liberty; and as a farther proof of his generosity, sent away all the other Athenian prisoners without ransom. Their countrymen were so much affected by Philip's obliging conduct on this occasion, that they agreed to renew their ancient treaty of alliance with him. But that prince could by no means pardon the Thebans.

The Athenians, after this terrible disaster, instead of testifying any resentment against Demosthenes, who had advised them to undertake the war, still followed his counsels. In vain did his enemies accuse him as the occasion of the misfortune at Cheronea. The people, convinced of the integrity of his intentions, acquitted him with honour, preserved the highest esteem for him, and loaded him with still greater marks of their favour and confidence. Guards were posted, and fortifications repaired by his advice. He was pitched upon to pronounce the funeral oration of the brave men who had fallen at Cheronea; and the Athenians inclosed their bones in a magnificent monument, with an inscription importing that they had fallen in the cause of their country.

It may be here remarked in passing, that these funeral orations, and the other public marks of distinction bestowed on those who had died in battle, were admirably calculated to inspire the Athenian youth with an ardent desire of military glory. The sons of those who were slain in fight, were produced at the first feast celebrated after such fight, clothed in complete armour, and attended by a herald, who made a public proclamation in the following terms: "These young orphans, whom a premature death in the service of the state has deprived of their fathers, have found in the people a common father, who charge themselves with the care of them till they shall arrive at the age of manhood; and they are respectively invited to aspire at the foremost employments in the commonwealth."

The people further committed to Demosthenes the charge of procuring provisions for the city; and decreed him a crown of gold, for having furnished a sum of money to repair the walls. The sentence of Ctesiphon, decreeing this crown to Demosthenes, having been arranged by Eschines, the cause was tried with uncommon solemnity, and a vast concourse of people assembled from all quarters to hear this important dispute between two so cele-

brated orators. Demosthenes shone particularly in his answer to the invectives of Eschines, on the subject of the defeat at Cheronea. He told the audience, that he was by no means answerable for that event, which, like every other, was in the power of the gods alone, who disposed of victory at their pleasure. Then he addressed himself to the Athenians in a style of rhetoric the most figurative and bold that is any where to be met with. "No Athenians, I swear to you by the manes of those brave citizens who sacrificed their lives for the liberty of their country, on land at Marathon and Platea, on sea at Salamis and Artemisium, and by the multitude of others, who, though unsuccessful in the same glorious cause, have been honoured by the republic with the solemn rites of burial, not by those alone who were fortunate and victorious, that you acted as you ought."

Though the Macedonian faction was now become very powerful at Athens, Eschines nevertheless failed, was even punished with banishment, and obliged to take refuge at Rhodes. On this occasion Demosthenes behaved to his rival with great generosity: and as he was departing, forced him to accept of a considerable sum of money. Eschines was so struck with his behaviour, that he burst out into this exclamation: "How much," said he, "must I regret the loss of a country, where I leave such an enemy, that I despair of finding any where else so generous a friend!" On arriving at Rhodes, he opened a school for eloquence, and began with reciting his oration against Demosthenes, which was very highly commended by his audience. But having proceeded to recite that made in answer to it by Demosthenes, nothing was heard but a general shout of applause; insomuch that Eschines could not refrain from crying out, "Ah! what should you have thought of it, had you heard him deliver it himself?" A saying that did as much honour to the candour of the one as to the eloquence of the other. Eschines

was very much esteemed as an orator by the Athenians, who called those three discourses of his that yet remain, by the names of The three Graces.

The misfortune at Cheronea was charged against the generals Chares and Lysicles; and Lycurgus the orator became the public accuser of the latter. This Lycurgus being a man of great integrity, but of a rigid severe character, inveighed against Lysicles in the bitterest terms. "You commanded," said he, "and a thousand citizens were killed; you commanded, and all Greece was enslaved." He so exasperated the people, that Lysicles was put to death. Chares, though equally culpable with his colleague, was, by some means or other, acquitted. Lysicles was a man possessed of no other merit than extraordinary bodily strength, and the impudence and presumption of a bully.

The decline of Grecian liberty may be dated from the battle of Cheronea. That victory, by spreading the terror of Philip's arms through Greece, paved his way to a more complete conquest. The Lacedemonian power, which lately had made both Greece and Asia to tremble, was now so much decayed, that we find them hardly named among the states by whom the enterprises of Philip were opposed.

That prince found he had at length attained the point at which he had so long aimed; and perceived, that at present it would be no difficult matter for him to reduce the Greeks entirely under his power. He therefore resolved to undertake an expedition he had long meditated against the Persians; and to prevail with the Greeks to join him in it, he procured himself to be chosen their commander-in-chief by an assembly composed of members from all the states. He soon afterwards dispatched part of his army into Asia Minor, under the command of Attalus and Parmenio. It is certain, however, that Philip neglected to profit as he might by his late victory; whether he thought it still dangerous to

push the Greeks to the last extremity; or whether he was satisfied with having humbled their pride, and with having obtained himself to be elected their generalissimo. Whatever may have been the cause, he resolved, before proceeding on his Persian expedition, to put his private family affairs in order.

The joy which Philip derived from the success of his military operations, was disturbed by the divisions that prevailed in his family. His first wife, Olympias, a woman of a revengeful, jealous disposition, had so provoked him by her ill temper, that he had divorced her, and taken to wife Cleopatra, the niece of Attalus, one of his principal officers. This new marriage was solemnized with much pomp and solemnity; but was in the end troubled by a quarrel between Attalus and Alexander. The former, when heated with wine, having said very imprudently, that the Macedonians ought to pray to the gods to bestow on them a lawful successor by their new queen; Alexander started up in a passion, by throwing his cup at the head of Attalus, cried out, "How! wretch, dost thou take me for a bastard?" Philip, in a rage, flew at his son with his sword in his hand; but being lame stumbled, so that the rest of the company had time to interpose, and to prevent his doing any mischief. Alexander, unable to digest the affront, had the boldness to rally his father on his fall, telling him, that it was ridiculous for him to think of an expedition into Asia, who could not safely walk from one table to another. Alexander soon after left the court, and retired with his mother into Epirus. This was the prelude to a bloody tragedy.

Philip, by the intercession of Demaratus, recalled his son to court. As he had his Persian expedition much at heart, he resolved to consult the gods about the event of it, and gave a favourable interpretation to a very ambiguous response of the Delphic priestess. After this, having promised his daughter Cleopatra in marriage to Alexander king of Epirus, the

brother of Olympias, he resolved to celebrate the marriage with great magnificence, and invited the principal men in Greece to be present at the ceremony. Most of the cities on that occasion lavished on Philip the highest eulogiums; and some of them sent him crowns of gold. Athens particularly, the nurse of orators and poets, was among the first to pay her homage. A tragedy was at this time performed, wherein Philip was represented under a feigned name, as the conqueror of Darius and master of Asia. Next day games and shows were celebrated.

After the marriage a sumptuous feast was given, which was distinguished by a grand procession from the palace to the theatre. In this procession were carried twelve statues of exquisite workmanship; of which one, that represented Philip under the figure of a god, greatly surpassed the rest. The king himself, dressed in white, appeared as the principal personage in this procession, marching between two files of his guards, who were ranged at some distance. But in the instant that Philip, amidst the joyful shouts and acclamations of his subjects, was tasting the highest pleasure of which the vanity of man is susceptible, a young Macedonian, called Pausanias, breaks through the crowd, and plunging a dagger into the bosom of Philip, strikes him

336. dead on the spot. The assassin fled; but was pursued, taken, and in the first transports of rage excited by his bloody deed, cut in pieces. This Pausanias, on being dishonoured in the most infamous manner by Attalus, Philip's uncle, had applied for satisfaction to Philip, who, averse to punish Attalus, amused Pausanias with vain promises. The young man taking those delays for an absolute refusal of justice, was exasperated to the highest degree, and resolved in revenge to assassinate Philip; which accordingly he accomplished in the manner just mentioned.

Olympias, however, was accused, and with a good deal of probability, of having had a hand in

the murder of her husband. For instead of showing any concern for such an imputation being laid to her charge, she caused the body of the assassin to be taken down from the cross, and to be buried, and afterwards vented her rage on Cleopatra, by murdering her son in her arms.

The news of Philip's death was received with the greatest joy through all Greece; but particularly at Athens, where the people crowned themselves with garlands, and behaved with the most indecent marks of pleasure and rejoicing. Even Demosthenes himself appeared in the public assembly with a garland of flowers in his hand, and exhorted the Athenians to thank the gods for this event.

Thus perished, at the age of forty-seven years, and in the twenty-fourth year of his reign, Philip king of Macedon, a prince of a most ambitious and enterprising character. By his own account, the happiness of nations, the reparation of injuries, and the destruction of tyranny, were the sole motives of his conduct. But notwithstanding those professions, he was continually aiming, by imperceptible means, at some private design; and he prosecuted all his schemes with undeviating perseverance. He was impenetrable as to his views and intentions, and never made use of confidants. Fruitful in resources, he seldom had recourse to force till address failed him. But when once engaged in war, he acted with the utmost diligence, vigour, and intrepidity, and was inferior to no commander of his time either for bravery or conduct. He rendered his soldiers the best in Greece; was particularly skilful in conciliating their affection by a familiar and complaisant behaviour, and in maintaining at the same time his authority over them in full force. Besides the accomplishments already mentioned, Philip had acquired a stock of the most valuable and finest parts of learning, and wrote and spoke with equal dignity and ease. He was a consummate politician, always seizing the most favourable moment

for attacking his enemies, availing himself of their weakness and domestic troubles, and by a liberal distribution of gold bringing over to his interests some of the leading men in every state. He readily granted his assistance to those who desired it, and laboured to weaken the strongest.

But the defects in this prince's character did more perhaps than counterbalance his great parts. For though a most artful politician, the means he employed were almost always contrary to justice and good faith. He never hesitated to deceive those with whom he treated; and he was little scrupulous about practising fraud, perfidy, or any other crime, provided it might contribute to the advancement of his power. He appears, too, to have been entirely devoid of religion. He used to say, that children were to be amused with toys, and men with oaths. What an abominable character! Such, however, is the picture of this prince offered us by history; not the less detestable surely for being that of a prince. But though truly of no religion, he chose, however, to assume the appearance of it, and affected to keep a public officer to remind him every morning of his being mortal. The Greeks were the dupes of his hypocrisy; which, together, with every other artifice, he employed to foment among them dissension and jealousy. He studied particularly to keep up and to increase the animosity that subsisted between the Thebans and Athenians; and most of the citizens of both republics fell into the snare.

He was, however, a strict, and for the most part, an impartial justiciary. Of this, history records several instances. One day, as he was returning from a long debauch, a woman having begged of him to decide her cause, he had it pled on the spot, and gave sentence against her. "I appeal from the judgment," cried the woman. "How! from your king?" answered Philip, "and to whom do you appeal?" "To Philip, when fasting," replied the woman. Philip, struck with the words of the woman,

reviewed the cause, and altered his former judgment. With respect to his morals, he was a professed debauchee; his most intimate friends were persons of the same character; and his court was filled with drunkards and buffoons.

Those of the learned who have studied with most accuracy the merits of the father and of the son, are of opinion, that the extent of Alexander's conquests does not equal the difficulty of those of Philip; and that it was more easy for the former to subdue Asia with the assistance of the Greeks, than for the latter to destroy the power of the Greeks with Macedonian strength alone. "It must be allowed," says M. Turreill, "that at first sight we are inclined to give the preference to Alexander, the splendour of whose conquests outshines that of Philip's; but on a more narrow inspection, and on balancing the obstacles that lay in the way of the one against the circumstances that forwarded the success of the other, we shall be of opinion, with Cicero, that the son was a great conqueror, but that the father was a great man."

CHAP. IV.

Affairs of the Greeks, Macedonians, and Persians, from the death of Philip till the death of Darius Codomanus king of Persia.

WE have already observed, that Alexander
356. was born in the year before Christ 356.

From his infancy, he, on several occasions, gave proofs of an extraordinary loftiness of sentiment. Being one day asked by his friends, whether he would not choose to contend in the foot-races at the Olympic games, (for he was extremely swift of foot) he answered, that he would, if kings were to be his competitors. On receiving the news of a city being taken or a battle won by his father, so far from discovering any signs of joy, he used to appear melancholy and disconsolate. "My friends,

(would he say) my father will accomplish every thing, and will leave nothing at all for me to do."

In every branch of learning that it was thought necessary to teach him, he made astonishing progress. We have told already, that Philip gave him for preceptor the famous Aristotle. Alexander conceived as high an esteem for that illustrious philosopher as Philip entertained for him. He went farther, and even honoured him as a father, saying, that his natural father had given him existence, but that this second father had taught him to make the proper use of his existence. Under such a master, the happy genius of Alexander made the most rapid progress; and he soon imbibed the principles of the whole circle of philosophy. Aristotle chiefly studied to enable his pupil, by a proper cultivation of his judgment, to distinguish between just reasoning and sophistry, and to make him minutely acquainted with every branch of morals, which he regarded as the only foundation of prudence and wisdom. In teaching him rhetoric, he took pains to show what species of eloquence is most becoming of a sovereign prince; and he made him sensible that it ought to abound less with figures than with sense; that it ought to be strong and nervous rather than florid; and to rest more on facts than on words.

Alexander was particularly fond of Homer, whose works he regarded as the noblest productions of human genius. In them he was delighted to discover captivating exhibitions of that valour and magnanimity with which he himself was animated. It is well known, that after the battle of Arbela, he ordered a most valuable golden box that had belonged to Darius to be set apart for holding the books of Homer. Plutarch tells us, that he loved to read and to converse with men of learning; two admirable sources of instruction to a prince. On the fine arts, such as music, painting, and sculpture, he bestowed but a cursory attention, sufficient

to give him an idea of their value and use ; which in such matters is all that a prince ought to know. He was of an active and impetuous disposition, and very tenacious of his opinion. He very early became the most expert horseman in his father's court ; and was the only person who dared to back the famous Bucephalus, a very fine horse, sent as a present to Philip, but so fiery and high-mettled, that they despaired to be able to break him. It was on this occasion that Philip, seeing Alexander returning from finishing the course in which he had backed this ungovernable horse, cried out to him in a rapture, " Seek, my son, another kingdom, Macedonia is not worthy to contain you." It is said, that this horse would afterwards suffer no person but Alexander to mount him ; that he leaned down on his knees to receive him on his back ; that after being mortally wounded in the battle against Porus, he saved the life of Alexander by carrying him through the crowd of enemies that surrounded him, and then expired ; that Alexander shed tears for his death ; and, in memory of him, built on the banks of the Hydaspis a city, which he called after him Bucephalia.

Alexander mounted the throne of Macedonia at the age of twenty years ; and in the same year that Darius Codomanus mounted that of Persia. After performing the ceremonies of his father's funeral, Alexander applied his attention to secure the conquests of Philip over the neighbouring nations, which at present were far from being in a settled condition. In Greece, particularly, though Philip had awed the states into submission by the terror of his arms, yet their minds were far from being reconciled to his authority. The conjuncture was delicate. The question was, whether he should endeavour to preserve those conquests by moderation and intrigue, or by the force of arms ? Alexander quickly formed his resolution, hearkening alone to the dictates of his courage.

To quell the commotions that had already broken out among some of the barbarous nations who had taken arms, he hastily led his army towards the Danube, passed that river in the night, and defeated the Triballi in a great battle. About the same time the states of Greece formed a confederacy against him ; and a rumour having arisen that he was killed, the Thebans made an insurrection, and cut in pieces the Macedonian garrison that held their city in subjection. At Athens, too, Demosthenes put all in motion, calling Alexander (of whose real character he was yet ignorant) a giddy young man ; and he wrote letters to Attalus, one of Philip's generals in Asia Minor, advising him to revolt. Alexander, already suspicious of the fidelity of Attalus, thought it necessary to have him taken off, although he had transmitted to him those treasonable letters of Demosthenes.

After making the barbarians sensible of his merit, he resolved to proceed to Greece. " It is proper, (said he) to show Demosthenes at the gates of Athens, that I am every way a man." He advanced, therefore, towards the pass of Thermopylæ ; passed it without resistance ; entered Bœotia ; required of the Thebans to deliver up to him Phænix and Prothentes, the authors of their insurrection ; and, on their refusal to comply with his demand, immediately attacked them. The Thebans fought with great bravery and obstinacy ; but being much inferior to the Macedonians in point of numbers, they were at last broken, and almost all cut off. More than 6000 men were killed on the spot. Thebes was taken, and treated with the utmost rigour of war. Alexander, personally incensed against the Thebans for the extravagant joy they had testified at the news of his death, resolved to satisfy his vengeance, by the utter destruction of their unhappy city. He sold more than 30,000 of the inhabitants for slaves ; and permitted none to enjoy their liberty except the priests, and the descendants of the celebrated poet Pindar.

The total ruin of Thebes, and the severity of Alexander to its miserable inhabitants, threw the other states into the greatest consternation. Every thing gave way to him; and even the Athenians, with Demosthenes himself, implored the mercy of the conqueror by a solemn deputation. Alexander, however, dispatched messengers to the Athenians, insisting on their delivering up to him ten of the orators, who had been chiefly instrumental in forming the late confederacy against him. The orator Demades, a particular favourite of Alexander, undertook to soften him. The Macedonian having already satisfied his resentment by the ruin of the Thebans, and being unwilling to be detained from the execution of the great design he was meditating, gave a favourable hearing to Demades, insisted on the banishment of Charidemus alone, frankly forgave the Athenians, and exhorted them to watch over the affairs of Greece during his absence. Then he assembled all the states at Corinth, and procured himself to be solemnly elected commander-in-chief of the Greeks against Persia.

So grand an undertaking, calculated to dethrone the sovereign of the east, and to produce the greatest revolution, so far as we know, that ever happened on our earth, required a conductor of the most extensive genius, intrepid, enterprising, incapable of being stopped by any obstacle, and endued with the greatest abilities of every kind.—Such a man was Alexander.—It is at the same time true, that he found the Greeks still actuated by their inveterate hatred of the Persians, whom to subdue was the most ardent desire of their souls. It is likewise true, that, however otherwise corrupted, they still maintained their superiority in arms over the Persians. The famous retreat of the 10,000 Greeks was yet fresh in every body's remembrance; as were the exploits of Agesilaus, who with a handful of men had made the great king to tremble on his throne. The bravery of the Macedonian troops was universally known.

It was at the time of this solemn assembly of the states of Greece at Corinth, that Alexander, surprised at not being visited by the famous Diogenes, as he had been by all the other eminent philosophers, resolved to pay that cynic a visit. Finding Diogenes basking in the sun, and in a situation that indicated extreme poverty, Alexander asked him, whether he wanted any thing, "Yes," answered Diogenes, "I want you to remove from between me and the sun-beams."—This answer raised the indignation of the courtiers, but attracted the admiration of Alexander; who declared, that if he were not Alexander he would choose to be Diogenes.

Alexander, before setting off for Asia, went to Delphos to consult the priestess of Apollo. But the priestess having refused to go to the temple, because the day happened to be one of those called inauspicious, on which she was prohibited from consulting the god, Alexander is said to have laid hold of her by the arm, to force her to go thither. The priestess having thereupon cried out, "O my son, it is impossible to resist you," Alexander took these words for the response; and, without requiring any other, returned to Macedonia; where, after making the necessary preparations for his departure, offering a solemn sacrifice, and celebrating public games, he gave a grand entertainment to all the princes of the blood, and general officers, at which there were no fewer than 200 tables.

Alexander having appointed Antipater governor of Macedonia during his absence, distributed in presents and largesses among his friends almost all the domains belonging to the crown, bestowing a portion of land on one, a town on another, royal privileges and exemptions on a third.

Alexander set out for Asia in the beginning
434. of spring, at the head of an army of 30,000 foot and 5000 horse. Most of his officers were men who, having grown old in the service of Philip,

were thoroughly experienced in the art of war; and his soldiers were all veterans, and perfectly acquainted with discipline. Parmenio commanded the foot, as did his son Philotas a part of the horse. Alexander marched directly to the Hellespont, which he passed with 160 galleys and several smaller vessels; conducting with his own hand the galley wherein he sailed himself.

His treasury was very inadequate to so great an undertaking. But both Alexander and his officers were firmly persuaded that they were marching rather to certain conquest, than to attempt a doubtful expedition. Alexander was the first of his army that jumped on Asiatic ground. Arriving at Ilium, he resolved to celebrate public games to the memory of Achilles; which he caused to be performed around that hero's tomb. On that occasion he expressed his envy of the good fortune of Achilles, in having found a faithful friend while he lived, and after his death a Homer to immortalize his exploits.

When he arrived at the banks of the Granicus, Parmenio advised to halt a little, that the troops might have some time to repose themselves. But Alexander's eagerness to proceed prevented his complying with this advice. He said, it was proper to take advantage of the terror which the news of his arrival had created among the Persians. His courage was rather animated than depressed at the view of the vast army which waited for him on the opposite side of the river; and which amounted to upwards of 100,000 foot and 10,000 horse, under the command of Memnon the Rhodian, a very skilful general.

Alexander placed himself at the head of the right wing of his army, plunged into the river, and was followed by all his troops. The Persians, seeing the Macedonians advancing, assailed them with a shower of darts. Both armies come at last to the charge. The Macedonians, fighting under the double disadvantage of inferiority in point of num

bers, and the worst ground, gave way a little at first. Alexander encourages them by his presence, deals death with every stroke, and bears down all before him. He charges the Persian cavalry, which make a brave resistance. He engages Spithrobates, the son-in-law of Darius, and transfixes him with a lance. Here Clitus, who fought by Alexander's side, saved his life, by intercepting the stroke of a battle-axe that was aimed at him. The Macedonians, seeing the danger that threatened their king, redoubled their efforts, and at last put the Persian cavalry to flight. Then Alexander charges the enemy's infantry with his Macedonian phalanx, which had by this time passed the river. The Persians, confounded at the boldness of the Macedonians, made but a feeble resistance, and were quickly routed. No part of the Persian army now kept its ground, except a body of Grecian infantry engaged in the service of Darius. These finding themselves deserted by the Persians, and their retreat cut off by the Macedonians, began a most obstinate engagement: and being all brave well-disciplined veterans, they fought with the most desperate obstinacy, and were all killed on the spot except 2000, who were made prisoners. The Persians, in this battle, lost 20,000 foot and 2500 horse. The loss of Alexander was only about 200 men, among whom were twenty-five horsemen of the royal guard, to whose memory Alexander ordered statues to be erected. He showed the utmost attention to the wounded, going himself to see them dressed. He ordered all the Greek prisoners to be conveyed to Macedonia, and sent to the Athenians 300 Persian bucklers as a token of his victory.

This victory was a happy prelude to those that were to follow, and served to propagate the terror of the Macedonian arms. Sardis, the key of Upper Asia, opened its gates to the conqueror. Ephesus followed the example; and Alexander there offered sacrifices to Diana. Trallis and Magnesia, in like manner, sent him their keys. Miletus alone, where

the brave Memnon had taken refuge, resolved to stand a siege, and made a long resistance. But upon the Macedonians attempting an assault, after having made several breaches in the walls, the garrison thought proper to capitulate.

Alexander, to deprive his troops of all hopes of return, unless victorious, ordered his fleet to be destroyed ; reserving only a few ships for transporting such engines as might be necessary in the course of the expedition. He next marched towards Hali-carnassus, to which he laid siege. The inhabitants, commanded by Memnon, made so very long and vigorous resistance, that a man of less obstinacy and resolution than Alexander would have been wearied out, and would have abandoned the enterprise. But he persisted, and at last prevailed. Memnon, however, made his escape by sea, with the greater part of the inhabitants, and the riches of the town.

Upon this, several princes of Asia Minor submitted to Alexander, and acknowledged him for their superior and sovereign ; and, among the rest, Mithridates king of Pontus, who, resolving to follow the fortunes of Alexander, accompanied him in all his future expeditions. Alexander spent the winter in the province of Mithridates ; but took the field early in the spring, and passed a narrow defile on the sea-coast, that forms the communication between Syria and Pamphylia. This defile happening then to be in a great measure covered by the sea, Alexander's soldiers were obliged to march a whole day in the water.

It was about this time that he discovered a conspiracy against his life. Alexander, the son of Eropus, general of his cavalry, was the principal author of this conspiracy, which he was induced to undertake by a promise of 1000 talents of gold by Darius. The traitor was immediately put to death. Alexander, arriving in Phrygia, took Celene after some resistance. From thence he proceeded to Gordion, where he desired to see the chariot to which was

tied the famous Gordion knot; some oracle having declared, that he who loosed it should arrive at the empire of Asia. Alexander, after trying in vain to untie it, cut it in pieces with his sword, saying, That the manner of loosing it was of no importance, provided the thing were accomplished.

In the mean time, Memnon the Rhodian, the best general that Darius had, advised that king to carry the war into Macedonia, by which means he could make such a diversion as would lay Alexander under the necessity of returning to Europe, to defend his own dominions. Darius approved of the advice, and gave Memnon the command of a fleet for putting it in execution. Memnon thereupon reduced Chios and Lesbos, but died as he was besieging Mitylene. Darius was extremely sorry for the loss of that general; and having now no other commander capable of supplying his place, he was obliged to take the command of his armies himself.

Alexander thus freed of Memnon, whose abilities might have thrown great obstacles in the way of his projects, subdued Cappadocia, advanced towards the higher Asia, and arrived at the pass of Cilicia, by which alone he could penetrate into the country of Tarsus. On this occasion he was highly favoured by his good fortune. For though his army might have been long stopped, and perhaps defeated at this pass, which was very narrow,—yet he found it quite unguarded, passed it without opposition, and arrived at Tarsus time enough to prevent that very rich town from being burnt by the Persians.

It was now about the end of summer, and 333. the weather was violently hot. Alexander, struck with the clearness of the waters of the river Cydnus, which washes that city, resolved to bathe in it. But he had hardly entered the water, when he was seized with an excessive chillness. Those that were with him instantly conveyed him to his tent in a state of utter insensibility. The news of this accident filled the camp with the highest

consternation; and the soldiers began to figure to themselves the numberless misfortunes to which the death of their prince would expose them. Alexander, in the mean time, recovering his senses, perceived the danger of his disease. We may easily figure to ourselves the violent agitation of his mind, thus to find himself stopped in the entry of his career, and almost on the point of ending his days in so unhappy and obscure a manner. He fancied he already heard the noise of the Persian army; and not so desirous of life as of glory, commanded his physicians to administer the most speedy remedies.

But the physicians, considering that Darius had promised a reward of 1000 talents to any person who would rid him of Alexander, dreaded to render themselves responsible for his life by the application of any remedy. But one of them named Philip, who had been about the person of Alexander from his infancy, and entertained a strong affection for him, seeing his beloved master in such extremity, despised all danger, and proposed to give him a draught that should quickly procure him relief. In the mean time, Alexander received a letter from Parmenio, whom he had left behind him in Cappadocia, counselling him to beware of Philip, whom Darius had corrupted by a promise of 1000 talents. How great must have been the perplexity of Alexander on this trying occasion, distracted between fear and hope, racked by suspicion on one side, and encouraged by his confidence in Philip on the other! His distrust at last gave way to his confidence in Philip; and taking the draught prepared for him in one hand, he, with the other, gave Parmenio's letter to Philip; and, looking stedfastly at the physician's countenance, drank out the potion without hesitation or the appearance of any uneasiness; but, at the same time, he perceived in Philip's face evident marks of honest indignation. The physician, after reading the letter, said no more, than that the recovery of his king would soon wipe off all suspi-

cion of the shocking crime laid to his charge; and he entreated Alexander not to prevent the effects of his prescription, by giving way to anxious inquietudes. The remedy, in the mean time, began to operate, but not without occasioning very severe effects on the king; which, for some time, held the minds of those present in painful suspense. But a speedy cure soon dispelled all their fears, and restored the king, in perfect health, to the eyes of his desponding soldiers, who at the sight passed from the lowest dejection to the highest joy.

Darius, in the mean time, who lay encamped on the plains of Assyria with an army of between 400,000 and 500,000 men, resolved to go in quest of his enemy, instead of waiting for him. That monarch, accustomed to the extravagant flattery of his satraps, who assured him of a certain victory, asked Charidemus the Athenian orator, whose banishment from his native country had been procured by Alexander as already mentioned, whether he believed the Persian army to be powerful enough to conquer that of the presumptuous Macedonian. Charidemus, incapable of flattery or dissimulation, answered with the honest freedom of a republican, that all the pompous and magnificent warlike preparations of the Persian army, and their prodigious number of men, might indeed terrify and confound the neighbouring powers of the Persian monarchy, but would make no such impression on the Macedonian army, which was all covered with steel; that the Macedonian phalanx was an impenetrable bulwark; that all their soldiers were inured to war, were thoroughly disciplined, and were satisfied with the plainest food; that the Thessalian horsemen were not to be repulsed by slings; and that all the gold and silver, of which the Persian camp displayed such a vain parade, might be much more usefully employed in hiring good troops.

To speak so honestly and plainly to a prince corrupted by flattery, and who regarded himself as the

most powerful monarch in the world, was highly dangerous. Charidemus experienced to his cost the truth of this maxim. Darius, though naturally of a mild and gentle disposition, was so provoked at the bluntness of the Athenian, that he ordered him to be put to death. But that awful prospect by no means altered the tone of Charidemus; who, as Quintus Curtius tells us, when led to execution, cried out, "My death shall be quickly avenged, even by the very man against whom I have given my best advice. But you shall furnish an example to posterity, that when men allow themselves to be dazzled by prosperity, the good qualities bestowed by nature are quickly eradicated."

Darius repented, when too late, of having put Charidemus to death. In the mean time, he advanced with his army towards the Euphrates, never beginning his march in the morning till after sunrise. Quintus Curtius has given us a description of the march, or rather of the royal procession immediately about the person of the Persian monarch; but though possible, it carries so much appearance of absurdity, that we shall take notice of it only by way of note, whereof the substance follows :*

* Altars of silver with the fire called eternal; 365 young boys clothed in purple robes; the chariot of Jupiter drawn by white horses; ten chariots; a body of cavalry composed of men of twelve different nations; another body of cavalry called the immortal, amounting to 10,000, dressed in robes of cloth of gold; the relations of the king, to the number of 10,000, most sumptuously dressed; the doriphoroi or body guards of the king; the chariot of the king, adorned with images of the gods, and two statues, one of war, the other of peace, placed in the middle of the yoke, and set off with precious stones; between these statues was an eagle of gold with his wings extended; the king appeared on this chariot, dressed in the highest magnificence, begirt with a belt of gold, whence depended his scymitar, having his head adorned with a tiara surmounted with a crown of blue and white; on each side of him marched 200 of his relations; he was followed by 10,000 pikemen. His rear was composed of 30,000 foot; then came a chariot, carrying Sysigambis, the mother of Darius, accompanied by his wife; fifteen large chariots, bearing the king's children, with their governors and eunuchs; and his con-

Parmenio had already, by the direction of Alexander, taken possession of the pass between Syria and Cilicia, to secure a retreat to his troops in case of necessity, and he had likewise taken possession of the small city of Issus. Alexander, hearing that Darius was encamped at Soca in Assyria, marched directly against him, passed the defile of Syria, and took post near the city of Myriandra. The Greek commanders in the service of Darius, advised that monarch to wait for the enemy in the plains of Assyria, where he might avail himself of all his strength. This prudent advice was accounted traitorous by the courtiers, who, therefore, were of opinion, that those Greeks, together with their men, ought to be immediately cut in pieces. But Darius rejected this proposal with horror; and after thanking the Greeks for their advice, set forward to meet his enemy. Darius directed his march towards Cilicia, entering into that country by the pass of Ammanicus, which lies above that of Syria; and then advanced towards Issus, without knowing that he was in the rear of Alexander. Intelligence being brought him that the Macedonian was flying, he thought he had no more ado but to go in pursuit of him.

Alexander hearing of the situation of Darius's army, was overjoyed at the thoughts of engaging in so narrow a spot, where he had room enough to bring all his forces into action; while on the other hand, Darius could not make use of the twentieth part of his. He felt, however, some anxiety at being on the eve of coming to so important an action; but his natural intrepidity quickly got the better of all his apprehensions. After causing his troops to refresh themselves, and offering up a solemn sacrifice to the gods, he gave

cubines, to the number of 360; 600 mules and 300 camels loaded with money; the wives of the officers of state all mounted on chariots: the procession was closed by companies of light-armed troops.

orders at midnight for marching, and brought his army by day-break to the station he intended to occupy. Hearing that Darius was within a league and a half of him, he immediately ranged his troops in battle order. The spot whereon they were drawn up was a fine plain in the neighbourhood of the river Issus, confined by mountains on one side, and by the sea on the other. He disposed his cavalry on the wings; and formed the phalanx into six divisions. Craterus commanded the infantry on the extremity of the left wing; Parmenio the rest of that wing; and Alexander himself the right wing. His cavalry were covered by his light armed troops, and his infantry by a body of archers under Antiochus.

Darius placed in the centre of his first line 30,000 Greeks who were in his service, and being all completely armed and disciplined after the Grecian manner, formed the main strength of his army. The rest of his infantry were drawn up behind the first line, except 20,000 who were posted on the mountain on the right of the Macedonians. His cavalry was ordered to cross the river Pinarus which ran through the middle of the plain; and then a large detachment of them pushed on towards Parmenio. Alexander observing this motion of the Persian cavalry, altered his former disposition a little, commanded the Thessalian cavalry to occupy the post at which the Persian cavalry seemed to aim, and stationed his light armed troops in front of his infantry.

The main bodies of both armies coming at last in view of each other, Alexander rode through his ranks and exhorted his soldiers to do their duty, reminding the Macedonians of their repeated victories in Europe, and of their recent and most glorious success at the Granicus, and assuring them that a single victory would render them masters of the empire of Persia; exhorting the Greeks to recall to their remembrance the heroic behaviour of their an-

cestors at Marathon, Thermopylæ, and Salamis, and the miseries brought upon their country by the Persians; and animating the Illyrians and Thracians with the hopes of the immense plunder the Persian army, if beaten, should afford them. The whole army called aloud to be led on to the engagement.

The right wing of the Macedonians, to avoid as much as possible the showers of darts poured upon them by the Persians, plunged immediately into the river, and advanced to the charge. The shock was extremely violent, and they fought man to man. Alexander was very desirous of having the honour to engage Darius hand to hand; and the sight of that monarch, conspicuously mounted on his superb chariot, redoubled this desire in the Macedonian hero, who instantly pushed forward, and exerted his utmost efforts to reach Darius. The battle round the king became very desperate, and a great number of Persian noblemen were killed fighting bravely. The horses of Darius being wounded, rear and break loose from the yoke. Darius jumps from that chariot, mounts another, flies, and is followed by the whole right wing of his army. On the other hand, the rest of the Macedonian army being attacked in flank by the Greek troops, as warlike and well disciplined as themselves, had occasion for all their bravery to support the charge. The battle between them was very bloody and doubtful. But the Macedonian right wing, now victorious, flies to the assistance of their left, attacks the Greeks in flank, and obliges them to give way. At the same time the Persian had charged the Thessalian cavalry, and had at first broken through several squadrons. The Thessalians affecting to take flight, as if struck with a panic, the Persians pursue them in disorder; but the Thessalians rallying unexpectedly, renew the engagement. Intelligence arriving, in the mean time, that Darius had fled, the Persian horsemen were discouraged, betook themselves to flight, and a great number of them were cut off in their re-

treat. The rout was then general: 8000 Greeks made good their escape, and retired towards Lesbos. The barbarians take different roads; some fly towards Persia: some take refuge in the woods. The Macedonians, in the mean time, possessed themselves of Darius's camp, where they found his mother and his wife, together with two princesses and a son, his infant children. The Persians lost a vast number of men in this battle, while the loss on the side of the Macedonians was very inconsiderable. Alexander himself was wounded in the thigh by a sword; but the wound was attended with no dangerous consequences.

Alexander, weary of pursuing Darius, returned to the Persian camp, where he gave a grand entertainment to his principal officers. While at table, the noise of crying and mourning reached their ears. This proceeded from the mother and wife of Darius; who observed Darius's chariot and bow, which Alexander had taken in the pursuit, imagined Darius was killed, and were bewailing his death in the most disconsolate manner. Alexander, moved with their misfortune, sent Leonatus, one of his officers, to assure them that Darius was alive. But the woman imagining that Leonatus came to put them to death, intreated to have permission, before their execution, to bury the body of Darius. Leonatus soon made them sensible of their mistake, and assured them of an honourable protection from Alexander. That prince, after visiting the wounded, and seeing the dead buried, testified great joy to his officers on account of his victory; bestowed the highest commendations on their bravery; and loaded them with presents. He then went to pay a visit to Sysigambis and the other princesses, and entered their tent with no other attendant but his favourite Ephæstion.

This interview was extremely moving, and exhibited those distinguished characters in a point of view so affecting, and from their situation so pecu-

liarily interesting, that the greatest painters have exerted their skill to eternize the scene with the most elegant touches of the pencil. Ephæstion being of the same age with Alexander, and of a more advantageous stature, was mistaken for the king by the ladies, who accordingly threw themselves at his feet. Sysigambis, on being informed of her mistake, prostrated herself before Alexander, and excused herself because she had never seen him before. But Alexander raised her from the ground, "My dear mother, (said he), you are not mistaken, for he is likewise Alexander." A noble expression, as honourable for the prince as for the favourite. Sysigambis expressed the highest gratitude for the favours and obliging attention he had shewn them; and Alexander took the son of Darius in his arms, and caressed him very fondly. Here the real heroism and virtue of Alexander shone forth in full splendour. He gave orders to treat the princesses with all the respect due to their rank, making his camp as sacred an asylum for their virtue as any temple; nor would he afterwards trust himself in the presence of Darius's queen, who was a woman of singular beauty. To understand the full extent of his magnanimity on this occasion, we must remember that Alexander was then in the full bloom of youth, unmarried and a conqueror. But far from attempting to derive any ungenerous advantage from his victory, he studied to alleviate the misfortunes of his illustrious captives by the most polite attention, and the most respectful kindness and indulgence.

Parmenio having, in the mean time, marched to Damascus, received from the governor of that city all the treasures deposited there by Darius for defraying the expences of his warlike expeditions, together with the equipages of many Persian lords, the whole amounting to an immense value. The Macedonians likewise found in that city several princesses of the royal blood of Persia, with a great

number of the wives of the satraps, and a multitude of officers belonging to the household of Darius.

Darius continued to fly with the utmost precipitation, through many desert provinces, till he crossed the Euphrates, and arrived at Thapsacus. Alexander in the mean time entered Syria, where most of the cities voluntarily opened their gates to him. In one of those cities that prince received a letter from Darius, couched in such haughty terms as but ill became his present situation. Without giving Alexander the title of king, he offered him any sum of money he should demand, as the ransom of his mother, his wife, and children; and counselled him to rest satisfied with the dominions of his ancestors, and not to persist in his attempt to usurp the kingdom of another. Alexander returned an answer in the same strain. He enumerated the misfortunes brought on Greece by the Persians. He reproached them with having suborned assassins to murder his father Philip; and upbraided Darius with having offered a reward of 1000 talents to any person who should kill him, Alexander; he therefore concluded, that he was not the aggressor. He intimated however to Darius, that on his applying to him in a suppliant manner, he should receive his mother and wife without any ransom; and he concluded, by desiring him to remember, when he wrote to him next, that he not only wrote to a king but to his own king.

Upon Alexander's arrival in Phenicia, the Sidonians paid him their homage with great pleasure, because, eighteen years before, Ochus had destroyed their city, and cut off most of the inhabitants. Their king, Strato, having declared for Darius, was deprived of the crown by Alexander, who desired Ephæstion to pitch on any of the Sidonians whom he thought most worthy of succeeding to that dignity. Ephæstion accordingly offered the sceptre to two young men, who were brothers, and in whose

house he happened to lodge. But they generously declined the honour, because they were not of the royal blood. Ephæstion struck with admiration at their magnanimity, begged of them to inform him of any person who had that advantage. They thereupon named Abdolonymus, whose generosity and integrity had reduced him to such poverty, that he was obliged to cultivate his garden with his own hands for his subsistence. The young men were desired to find him, and to acquaint him with his good fortune. Having accordingly gone to him, they saluted him as king, and told him, that he must throw aside the wretched apparel he then was wearing, and put on the royal robe they had brought him. It was with great difficulty that they convinced him they were not jesting. "Assume," said they, "with these royal robes the sentiments of a king, preserve that virtue which has made you worthy of it; and when you shall preside there as the arbiter of life and death, forget not the situation from which you were exalted to that important dignity."

All the inhabitants of Sidon were overjoyed at hearing on whom the choice had fallen. Alexander desired to see the new king; and having asked him, whether he had been able to support with patience his former situation? "Would to heaven," answered Abdolonymus, "I may be able to support with equal resolution the crown you have been pleased to place on my head." Alexander conceived a high opinion of the virtue of Abdolonymus, and ordered all the furniture and rich effects of the late king Strato to be given to him.

The only city in Phenicia which did not acknowledge its dependence on the Macedonians was Tyre, accounted, even before the captivity of the Jews at Babylon, the most flourishing city in the world. Its advantageous situation, the industry of its inhabitants, the superior excellence of its purple and other commodities, rendered it the centre of

commerce, the richest city of the east, and the mistress of the sea.

The Tyrians were desirous of making Alexander their friend, but did not choose to make him their master ; and therefore, on his offering to enter
332. their city, they shut their gates against him.

Incensed at this affront, Alexander resolved to take vengeance on them, by laying siege to their city. This undertaking carried with it the appearance of extreme difficulty, the city being not only situated in an island, at the distance of a quarter of a league from the continent, but likewise very strongly fortified, and the Tyrians being firmly resolved to make an obstinate resistance. It was however of great importance to Alexander to get possession of Tyre, as by that means he should command all Phenicia, should deprive the Persians of one half of their naval strength, become sovereign at sea, and so reduce in a little time both Eygypt and the island of Cyprus. Besides these motives in point of expediency, Alexander was of a disposition that could brook no resistance ; and difficulties served only to render him more obstinate. Perceiving, however, that it would be necessary to construct between the continent and the island a mound, which, at the same time that it must be a tedious and laborious work, might after all be swept away by the violence of the waves ; and that the other obstacles of every kind were very great, and might detain him too long from the prosecution of his other enterprises ; Alexander thought it advisable to attempt an accommodation, and therefore sent heralds to offer terms of peace to the Tyrians. But instead of listening to his proposals, the presumptuous citizens killed the heralds, and threw their bodies from the top of the walls into the sea. Alexander, transported with rage at this insult, determined to undertake the siege, whatever it might cost him.

As a circumstantial detail of the particulars of

this famous siege would require more room than the nature of the present work will admit of, we shall confine ourselves to the most remarkable circumstances attending it.

Alexander, in the first place, ordered a foundation to be laid for raising a mound to communicate between the continent and the island. This work was attended with incredible labour, and the Tyrians exerted their utmost efforts to impede its execution. At last, however, when it drew towards a close, a violent tempest arising, overthrew by the force of the waves the effect of all their labours. This unfortunate accident, capable of discouraging any other man than Alexander, had no such effect upon him, nor upon his soldiers, who recommenced their labours with wonderful alacrity.

In the mean time the news of his victory at Issus brought to his assistance a vast number of galleys from different quarters. Sidon, Rhodes, Cyprus, and several maritime cities in Lycia, contributed each its quota; and when to these supplies were joined the remains of his own fleet, he appeared before Tyre with upwards of 200 galleys. The Tyrians now finding the Macedonians superior to them in naval strength, durst no more venture out of their harbour. The latter, therefore, prosecuted their work unmolested, and soon finished the mole. Warlike engines were quickly erected on it; and Alexander ordered his fleet to attack the city from the sea, while he invested it from the mole. The besieged were overwhelmed with showers of stones, and the walls of their city were incessantly battered by all sorts of engines. The Tyrians finding themselves thus vigorously attacked, sent away most of their women and children to Carthage; but still continued to defend themselves with wonderful obstinacy, and every day put in practice some new invention to frustrate the attempts of the besiegers, insomuch that Alexander deliberated more than once about raising the siege. A sea-fight at last

ensued, wherein the Tyrians were defeated, and many of their ships sunk. Alexander took advantage of the consternation produced among the besieged by this defeat, to give a general assault. Both the attack and defence were most desperate. The battering rams make breaches in several parts of the wall: the Macedonians instantly rush forward by those breaches: Alexander exposes himself to the most imminent danger, performs prodigies of valour, and by his example encourages his soldiers: the Macedonians at last get possession of the ramparts: the Tyrians fly on all sides, are put to the sword without distinction, and most of them are sacrificed to the fury of the conquerors.*

The Sidonians, compassionating the miseries of the unhappy Tyrians, saved the lives of more than 15,000 of them, by conveying them privately aboard their ships. Alexander, exasperated to the highest degree by the length and obstinacy of the siege, crucified 2000 of the Tyrians along the sea-shore, and sold for slaves upwards of 30,000 of them whom he had made prisoners. Thus was taken the famous city of Tyre, after a siege of seven months duration, and one of the most memorable recorded in ancient history.

At this siege Alexander was wounded in the shoulder. Darius in the mean time sent Alexander another letter, offering him 1000 talents as the ransom of the princesses, with his daughter Statira in marriage, together with all the provinces he had conquered, as far as the Euphrates. Parmenio was

* In the course of this siege, Alexander having made an incursion into the country of the Arabians who dwelt about Antilibanus, involved himself in very imminent danger from an affectionate attachment to his preceptor Lysimachus, who being unable through age to keep up with the rest of the party, Alexander resolved to stay behind with him. Thus separated from the main body of the soldiers, they remained a whole night in a most disagreeable situation, surrounded by parties of the enemy. But by Alexander's intrepidity and good fortune, they were extricated from their dangerous dilemma.

of opinion, that Alexander ought to accept of these terms, declaring that if he were in Alexander's place, he would accept of them himself: "And so would I," answered Alexander, "were I Parmenio." In answer, he informed Darius, that he had no occasion for his money: that with respect to the conquered provinces, he, Darius, offered with a bad grace what it was not in his power to bestow; but that he might, whenever he pleased, venture another battle, which, in all probability, would decide which of them should remain the conqueror and master. This answer convinced Darius, that he had now no alternative but once more to try the fate of war.

Alexander, provoked against the Jews, for their having refused to supply his army with provisions during the siege of Tyre, under pretence of an oath of fidelity sworn by them to Darius, marched towards Jerusalem, with an intention to treat that city as he had treated Tyre. Jaddus, the high priest, hearing of his approach, had recourse to sacrifice and prayer; and in consequence of a revelation made to him in a dream, clothed himself in his pontifical vestments, and taking with him all the servants belonging to the temple, marched out in solemn procession to meet Alexander. That prince, on seeing the high priest, was struck with surprise and veneration; and coming up to him, saluted him with a religious respect. His officers appearing confounded at this behaviour, Alexander told them, that it was not the man, but the great God, whose servant he was, whom he meant to honour by this respectful behaviour; assuring them at the same time, that before leaving Macedonia, as he was anxiously revolving in his mind his future expedition, he had seen in a vision this very high priest, dressed in the same robes he now wore, who encouraged him to prosecute his intended invasion of the Persian empire, and told him, that the God whom he worshipped would conduct his undertakings, and

crown him with victory : that he recollected this vision the moment he had at this time set eyes on the high priest, and that therefore he entertained no further doubt of conquering Darius.

It is most likely that this pretended dream of Alexander's was the child of political hypocrisy. The intention is obvious. Alexander wished his own soldiers, as well as the Persians, to be persuaded that the gods had destined him to subdue the empire of the east ;—a belief that must inspire his troops with additional confidence, and his enemies with despair. Several other passages of Alexander's conduct show very clearly that this was a principal point of policy with that prince : and it is probable that the opinion he laboured to inspire, first of his divine mission, next of his divine descent, and finally of his own personal divinity, gradually broached as he advanced among more ignorant and more superstitious nations, contributed considerably to his subsequent conquests. I am therefore thoroughly persuaded, that in propagating this idea Alexander was less prompted by vanity than by policy.

Alexander, delighted with the accomplishment of this flattering prediction, embraced the high priest, and entering Jerusalem, proceeded to the temple, and offered sacrifices, complying in every particular with the directions of Jaddus. After which the high priest laid before him the passages of Daniel's prophecies which respected himself and his conquests.

Overjoyed at those wonderful prophecies, Alexander bestowed many marks of his kindness on the Jews, and desired them to ask of him some favour. They demanded permission to live in conformity with the laws of their fathers ; and Alexander granted the request.

Alexander next directed his march towards Gaza, which he desired to subdue, that he might open to himself a way into Egypt. But Betis, the gover-

nor placed there by Darius, thought it his duty to defend the place to the last extremity, by which means the Macedonian was stopped before it no less than two months. He took it however at last ; and out of resentment for the obstinate defence made by the inhabitants, he put 10,000 of them to the sword, sold the rest for slaves, and instead of shewing that respect for Betis which his bravery and his fidelity to his sovereign deserved, used him with the most disgraceful cruelty. Commanding his feet to be pierced, and a cord to be passed through the holes, he caused him to be dragged round the city till he died, affecting to imitate Achilles, who used the body of Hector in the same manner.

Leaving a garrison in Gaza, Alexander advanced towards Egypt, and arrived before Pelusium. The Egyptians had long submitted with impatience to the Persian government. They entertained a strong resentment of the cruelty of Ochus, and desired nothing more ardently than an opportunity to throw off the yoke under which they groaned. As soon therefore as Alexander appeared among them, they cheerfully submitted to his authority. Mazeus, Darius's governor at Memphis, seeing Alexander at the head of a powerful army, opened to him the gates of that capital, and put him in possession of 8000 talents, and all the rich effects of the king.

Every thing giving way in this manner to Alexander, his heart, elated by so many victories, was no longer proof against the baneful influence of prosperity, which generally corrupts the heart, and renders men blind to their real situation. The vanity of Alexander suggested to him the ridiculous project of imitating the example of some of the ancient heroes, by pretending to be the son of Jupiter. With this absurd view, he resolved to pay a visit to the temple of Jupiter Ammon, situated in the midst of the deserts of Lybia, at the distance of twelve days' journey from Memphis ; and he found means previously to corrupt the priests by large

presents, to behave to him in the manner he desired.

In this journey he observed beyond Canopus a spot very advantageously situated for being the foundation of a maritime city. He gave orders therefore for immediately beginning the work, and called the city after his own name, Alexandria. Its happy situation, and fine harbour, afterwards rendered it one of the most flourishing cities in the world, and evinced the singular penetration and comprehensive ideas of its great founder.

The journey of Alexander proved as dangerous as its motive was extravagant; for the road lay through deserts covered with mountains of burning sand. The soldiers seeing themselves environed on all hands with frightful deserts, were seized with consternation; and their water having failed them, they were on the point of perishing for thirst, when a storm of rain coming on, relieved them from that distress. At length they arrived at the temple of the god, situated on a spot of pretty good ground, surrounded by a thick wood. The god was represented under the figure of a ram, covered with precious stones. Alexander, on entering the temple, was saluted as son of Jupiter by the chief priest; who assured him that the god himself acknowledged him as such. Alexander received the appellation with joy, and worshipped Jupiter as his father. The priest likewise foretold him, that he should become sovereign monarch of the whole world. Here again we find vanity, ambition, and hypocrisy, united in this strange transaction and its consequences.

Alexander constantly, after his return from this visit, assumed in all his letters and dispatches the title of son of Jupiter Ammon. His subjects privately pitied this ridiculous folly; but his mother Olympias rallied him pleasantly enough on his vanity, begging of him in her letters to desist from promoting a quarrel between Juno and her.

That prince, before leaving Memphis, settled a proper form of government for Egypt, conferring

the principal military offices on Macedonians alone, and distributing the country into various departments. But he permitted the Egyptians to make use of their ancient laws.

Alexander, leaving Egypt, proceeded towards the east to pursue Darius. During a short stay which he made at Tyre, having been informed of the death of Statira, Darius's queen, he immediately paid a visit to Sysigambis and the other princesses; testified much compassion for their misfortune, omitted nothing that might contribute to alleviate their grief, and celebrated the queen's funeral with vast magnificence. Darius, on receiving the news of his wife's death, from a eunuch who had made his escape from the Macedonian camp for that purpose, was extremely grieved, and inquired at the eunuch with the utmost earnestness, whether Alexander had ever attempted her virtue. The eunuch assured him with the most solemn oaths, that Alexander had constantly behaved to Statira with the utmost delicacy and respect; and that he had discovered on all occasions the highest attention and regard for the other princesses. Darius, on hearing this, beseeched the gods, in presence of his courtiers, that if by their immutable decree the royal line of Persia was destined to fail, Alexander alone might mount the throne of Cyrus.

Alexander continuing his march, passed the Euphrates, and advanced towards the Tigris with his whole army. Darius perceiving that the Macedonian would listen to no terms of accommodation, assembled an army more numerous still than any of the former. The plains of Mesopotamia were covered with his troops. Darius directed his march through the country of Nineveh; but he dispatched Mazeus with a detachment of 6000 men to oppose Alexander's passage over the Tigris, the most rapid of all the rivers of the east. Alexander, in the mean time, having discovered a ford, effected the passage of his army, his foot being disposed in

the middle, and his cavalry on the two wings. The passage was attended with much trouble and confusion, the soldiers being obliged to carry their arms and their baggage on their heads. If Mazeus had arrived in time, the Macedonians in all probability might have been defeated. But the singular good fortune that attended Alexander in all his enterprises, saved him from this danger.

Alexander encamped for two days on the farther side of the Tigris. As the army was preparing for their departure on the third, an eclipse of the moon happened. This occasioned a superstitious alarm among the troops, which happily, however, produced no bad consequences. The soldiers complained loudly, that to satisfy the ambition of a single man, they should be obliged to travel to the extremities of the earth, and that even contrary to the will of the gods, who thus refused them the light of the heavenly bodies. But upon the soothsayers declaring, that the moon was the luminary which favoured the Persians, while on the contrary the Greeks were patronized by the sun, and that therefore this eclipse threatened the former with some impending misfortune, the superstitious multitude approved of the interpretation, and resumed their courage. Letters in the mean time were intercepted, wherein Darius endeavoured, by vast promises, to persuade the Greek soldiers to assassinate Alexander. But that prince, by the advice of Parmenio, took no notice of these letters to the army. Darius, who was now only at the distance of seven or eight leagues, dispatched ten of his relations, to propose to the Macedonian new terms of peace, more advantageous still than any of the former. Alexander returned for answer, That Darius certainly pretended to treat of peace with an insidious intention, since he was at that very instant labouring to persuade his, Alexander's, own soldiers to murder him; that therefore he was determined to use him, not as a generous enemy, but as a base assassin; and he concluded

with a ridiculous figure, telling him, that the world could no more admit of two masters than it could of two sons.

Darius's army was encamped near the village of Gaugamella, in a large plain, at some distance from Arbela, a city of Assyria. Alexander, after halting some time to repose his troops and to fortify his camp, there deposited all his baggage, and advanced in battle order towards the Persians. Parmenio advised to attack the enemy in the night, by which means they might obtain a more easy victory. But Alexander answered, that he disdained to steal a victory, and that he was resolved to fight and conquer in the face of day. The army of Darius passed the night under arms. Alexander, after offering up sacrifices to the gods, retired to rest, not without some anxiety ; but falling asleep at last, he continued to sleep so soundly, that they were obliged to awake him. Parmenio having expressed much surprise to Alexander that he could enjoy such perfect tranquillity and composure on the very point of coming to so important an engagement :—“Why,” answered Alexander, “should I be otherwise, since the enemy has come to deliver himself into our hands?”

Arming himself immediately, he mounted his horse, rode through the ranks, and exhorted his men to maintain their former reputation. Never did he discover more cheerfulness or resolution. The army of Darius, according to the most credible account, amounted to no fewer than 600,000 foot, and 40,000 horse ; that of Alexander's to no more than 40,000 foot, and between 7000 and 8000 horse. The troops on each side were drawn up in two lines, with the cavalry on the wings. Two hundred chariots armed with scythes were ranged in the front of the Persian army ; and Darius had taken post in the centre of the foremost line. Alexander had placed his archers at the head of his army ; and to prevent any bad effects from his being surrounded, he gave

orders to the second line to face about in case they were attacked in the rear.

The battle was begun by the cavalry. Alexander's being charged by those of the enemy, sustained the first shock with difficulty; but at last were so lucky as to repulse them. The Persian chariots armed with scythes were next let loose. Upon which the Macedonian archers discharged a shower of arrows, that galled and frightened the horses, and caused many of them to run back among the Persian troops, while the Macedonians, opening their ranks, permitted the rest of them to pass.

In the mean time, the soothsayer Aristander, dressed in a white robe, advancing into the midst of the troops, cries out, that he sees an eagle above Alexander's head. This being a presage of victory, animated the troops with fresh courage. Alexander instantly rushes forward to support Aretus, who had put to flight the Persian cavalry; and attacking, along with him, the left of the enemy, fairly breaks them, and then advances against the quarter where Darius fought. A very bloody and obstinate engagement ensued. The soldiers about the Persian monarch exerted extraordinary efforts in his defence. But that prince's armour-bearer being killed by a javelin thrown from Alexander's own hand, the Persian troops in that wing thinking it was the king himself who had fallen, set up a frightful cry, were filled with consternation, and began to give ground. Darius, afraid of falling into the hands of the Macedonians, consults his safety by flight. A dreadful slaughter followed. In the mean time, however, the left of the Macedonians, commanded by Parmenio, was in great danger. A detachment of the Persian cavalry having forced their way through them, galloped up to the very baggage. But the infantry in the centre of the second line facing about, attacked this body of cavalry in the rear, and obliged them to retreat. The danger, however, was not yet over.—Mazeus next fell upon

then with all the cavalry under his command. Alexander, informed of the danger that threatened Parmenio, returned from pursuing Darius, hurried to support his own troops, and falling in with the body of cavalry that had made the attempt on the camp, charged them with the greatest vigour. The battle was very obstinate. Alexander lost sixty of his guards; but at length, the Persians were repulsed and put to flight. On the other hand, Mazeus hearing of the flight of Darius, and of the defeat of the troops that had fought about the king's person, was so confounded at the news, that he gave over the pursuit of the Macedonians, whom he had thrown into great disorder. Parmenio observing this change in the conduct of Mazeus, called out to his troops that the enemy was seized with a panic, and that one bold effort would ensure them the victory. The Macedonians, animated by this information, advance against the enemy, charge them with irresistible fury, and put them to flight. Alexander perceiving that victory every where declared for him, returned to the pursuit of Darius, whom he expected to find in Arbela, where great part of his treasures were deposited. But Darius, afraid to stop there, abandoned the city, together with an immense booty, to the Macedonians.

Such was the event of this famous battle, 331. in which the Persians are said to have lost 300,000 men: and the Macedonians no more than 200. Alexander, after expressing, by proper sacrifices, his gratitude to the gods for this great victory, distributed magnificent presents among the officers who had principally distinguished themselves. He expressed particular satisfaction with the conduct of his Greek soldiers, and, by way of recompence, ordered all the Greek cities to be set at liberty, and every species of tyrannical government then prevailing among them, to be abolished.

Darius, passing the river Lycus, hurried towards Media, by the way of the mountains of Armenia, attended by a very slender retinue.

Alexander having taken possession of Arbela, found in that city 4000 talents of money (nearly £600,000 sterling) and other treasures to an immense value.—From Arbela he marched to Babylon, where Mazeus made his submissions, and delivered up the city. Most of the Babylonians, impatient to see their new master, went out of the city to meet him. Alexander made his entry at the head of his army. The walls of Babylon, so celebrated in history, were covered with multitudes of spectators; the roads were strewed with flowers by order of the governor of the citadel; and on both sides of the way altars were erected, whereon were burnt perfumes of an exquisite flavour. Immediately behind the retinue of Alexander were carried the presents destined for him; among which were many wild beasts, such as lions, panthers, &c. confined in cages; next came the magi singing hymns; then the Chaldeans, soothsayers, musicians, and the Babylonian horsemen; Alexander was mounted on a chariot surrounded by his guards, and marched along in triumph. He distributed a great part of the money found in Babylon in presents among his soldiers; every Macedonian horseman receiving about £13 sterling; every other horseman about £4; and a foot soldier about £2.

As Alexander possessed an extraordinary taste for the sciences, he passed some time in conversation with the Chaldeans, who entertained him with their most curious astronomical observations. He staid thirty-four days in Babylon. His residence in this city, which was then immersed in luxury and every species of voluptuousness, greatly corrupted his troops. While at Babylon, he was joined by a number of recruits sent him by Antipater. Alexander departing at last from Babylon, entered the province of Sitacena a very fruitful country. Here, to keep up a spirit of emulation among his soldiers, he appointed rewards to be distributed among the most valiant, by the officers who had been witnesses

of the bravery displayed by each of them in the several battles. Here too, he made some necessary alterations in his military discipline. Then he proceeded towards Susa, a city in Persia, and arrived there on the twentieth day after his departure from Babylon. The governor of the province sent his son to meet him, and followed soon after himself, with a present consisting of dromedaries and twelve elephants, which he delivered to Alexander on the banks of the river Choaspus, so celebrated in history for the delicious taste of its waters. Alexander entering Susa, found there 50,000 talents of money (upwards of £6,000,000 sterling), and rich furniture and effects to an immense value. Before quitting Susa, Alexander put a garrison into that city, consisting of 3000 men and 1000 of his veteran Macedonian soldiers. He likewise left there Sysigambis and Darius's children, and made that princess a present of some beautiful purple stuffs that had been sent him from Macedonia. For Alexander constantly behaved to her with as high respect as if she had been his own mother; and so far conformed himself even to the Persian manners, that he never sat down in her presence till she gave him permission.

Alexander next advanced into the country of the Uxii; where, after establishing his authority, he committed the greatest part of his army to Parmenio. Taking none but the light-armed troops along with himself, he penetrated into Persia, through the mountains, till he reached the pass of Susa. Ariobarzanes, with 4000 men, having taken possession of the rocks that commanded that pass, rolled down from the top of them large stones, which crushed to pieces many of the Macedonians; who finding it impossible to proceed, were obliged to stop short in the midst of their victorious career. In this dilemma, a Greek offered to conduct the Macedonians by a secret unfrequented path to the summit of those rocks. Alexander accepted of his

service ; and taking along with him a good part of his troops, set out on the attempt. But they met with incredible difficulties in their way, and narrowly escaped perishing among the snow. Arriving, however, at the top of the mountain at last, and discovering the main body of the enemy, he instantly attacked and cut them in pieces. Whereupon Craterus, whom he had left at the bottom of the hill with the rest of the troops, took possession of the pass, and put the enemy to flight.

Alexander having extricated himself from this dangerous situation, advanced towards Persepolis, the ancient residence of the Persian monarchs, and the capital of their empire, where a part of Darius's treasures were deposited. After passing the Araxus, he was met, not far from Persepolis, by about 800 Greeks, all old men, who having been formerly made prisoners by the Persians, had been by them maimed and disfigured in their bodies with the most shocking inhumanity. They came to implore the protection of Alexander ; who, on seeing their miserable situation, could not refrain from shedding tears. He did all in his power to comfort them ; and offered to procure them a passage home to their native country. But the Greeks told him, that in their present frightful condition, they durst not appear in Greece ; and that besides, they were unable to support the fatigue of so long a journey. Alexander, therefore, consented to let them stay in the same place where they had already spent so many years ; and after presenting each of them with three drachmas, four oxen, and five suits of clothes, he strictly enjoined the governor of the province carefully to protect them from all bad usage for the future ; and granted them an exemption from every kind of tribute.

Most of the Persians abandoned Persepolis on the approach of Alexander, who entered it at the head of his phalanx. The soldiers, recalling to their remembrance that it was from this city those

immense armies of barbarians had proceeded, who had spread devastation through Greece, were seized with a furious spirit of resentment, and cut in pieces the remaining inhabitants. The treasures amassed in this city greatly exceeded all that had hitherto fallen into the hands of Alexander. One would have imagined that the whole riches of Persia had been here collected together. For besides effects of inestimable value, near £16,000,000 sterling were found in the royal treasury. This city was indeed the fountain of the Asiatic luxury. Besides the cities already mentioned, Alexander had got possession of several other very rich towns; and in particular, he had found at Pasagardus alone near £900,000 sterling.

While Alexander remained at Persepolis, he gave a grand entertainment; at which, besides other ladies, a courtesan named Thais, a native of Attica, happened to be present. In the height of their jollity, this Thais having indiscreetly declared, that she would account it a very great happiness to have the pleasure of setting fire, with her own hands, to the palace of Xerxes, the greatest enemy of Greece, and the destroyer of Athens, all the courtiers highly applauded the thought, and Alexander himself among the first. The whole company, therefore, instantly snatching up burning torches, rushed out; and in a moment reduced that magnificent palace to ashes. A piece of extravagant folly, for which Alexander repented very sincerely afterwards.

Darius had by this time reached Ecbatana, the capital of Media. Of all his mighty forces, no more than 30,000 now remained with him; among whom were 4000 Greeks, 4000 archers, and 3000 horse, commanded by Bessus, satrap of Bactriana. The unhappy monarch, assembling his officers, returned them thanks, in the most moving manner, for having adhered to his fortunes, and for not having deserted him like the rest; a fidelity for which the

gods, he told them, must certainly reward them, though, perhaps, it might never be in his power. He assured them, at the same time, that, with their assistance, he would still boldly face the enemy; that, for himself, he never would submit to the conqueror; and that they had the means of defence in their arms and valour. Most of the officers applauded this heroic resolution; and assured him, that they would spend the last drop of their blood in his service. But Bessus had already formed a traitorous conspiracy with Nabarzanes commander of the horse, to seize the person of Darius, and either to deliver him up to Alexander, if so warmly pursued that they could not hope to escape, or, in case of escaping, to put him to death, and to usurp the sovereignty in his place. In prosecution of their plan, the traitors persuaded a part of their soldiers to support their measures, by telling them that they were on the point of falling into the hands of Alexander. Darius got intelligence of this conspiracy; and it is easy to imagine what extreme sorrow he must have felt on that occasion. Patro, the commander of the Greeks, and a man of strict honour, shocked at so base an instance of treachery, pressed Darius to commit the care of his person to his Greek soldiers, whose faithful attachment he had often experienced. But Darius declined the offer, that he might not affront his natural-born subjects, by trusting his safety to strangers in preference to them. That unfortunate monarch soon became a victim to his tenderness for the Persians. The traitors seized him, and conducted him in a covered chariot towards Bactriana.

Alexander arriving at Ecbatana, caused to be deposited in the citadel all the treasures he had found in Persia, amounting, by Strabo's account, to about £22,500,000 sterling. Then he ordered Parmenio to march towards Hircania with the Thracians and the rest of the cavalry; and sent orders to Clitus, who had been left behind at Susa, to come and join

him in Parthia. In the mean time Alexander himself went in pursuit of Darius, who had left Ecbatana only five days before. Arriving at the Caspian defile, he encamped there, and halted all next day. Here he received intelligence that Darius had passed the defile, was seized by the traitors, and was dragged about in a chariot by Bessus. Alexander, shocked at the news, hastened his march. The barbarians, though superior in numbers, had not courage to stand their ground, but fled when they heard of his approach. Bessus ordered Darius to get on horseback, the more easily to escape from his enemies. But that prince refused to comply, telling Bessus that the gods were sending him an avenger in the person of Alexander. Bessus and his accomplices, enraged at this answer, discharged their arrows at him; and having wounded him mortally, they and their soldiers dispersed by different routes.

The advanced guard of Alexander's army found Darius in a retired place, lying in his chariot at the point of death. He had still strength enough left to desire some drink; which having been brought him by Polistratus, a Macedonian, he said several moving things to that officer. "Friend," says he, "the sense of my inability to reward thee for this kind office completes the sum of my misfortunes." He begged of him to assure Alexander, that he died with a most grateful sense of his extraordinary kindness to his mother, his wife, and his children; that he prayed to the gods to bless his arms with victory, and to make him monarch of the whole world; and that he trusted to his generosity to take vengeance for his death on his treacherous murderer. Then laying hold on the hand of Polistratus, "Give him," added he, "thy hand in my name, as I now give thee mine, as the only token I can bestow on him of my esteem and gratitude." After uttering these words he expired. Alexander
330. arriving soon after, was penetrated with grief on seeing the mangled body of Darius, and

shed many tears. After causing the body to be embalmed, he sent it to Sysigambis, that she might cause it to be buried with all the funeral honours usually paid to the deceased kings of Persia.

Darius at his death was not fifty years of age, and of that time he had reigned only six. He was a prince of a mild disposition. In his person ended the Persian empire, after having stood 206 years under thirteen kings, viz. Cyrus, who was the founder of it, Cambyses, Smerdis the magian, Darius the son of Hystaspis, Xerxes I. Artaxerxes Longimanus, Xerxes II. Sogdianus, Darius Nothus, Artaxerxes Mnemon, Ochus, Arses, Darius Codomanus.

The Persian empire was originally composed of two nations totally dissonant to each other, both in their tempers and manners. The Persians led a sober hardy life; the Medes were effeminate and luxurious. The manners of the latter quickly corrupted those of the former; and the attention of both was solely directed to pleasure and magnificence. The conquest of Babylon by Cyrus contributed greatly to this pernicious change, by supplying him with all the means of luxury and refinement. The Persians were so thoroughly degenerated from the original virtue of their forefathers, that of all the people on earth they were the most addicted to luxury and voluptuousness, the most overbearing, haughty, cruel, and perfidious. Add to this, that after the unsuccessful enterprises of Darius and Xerxes against Greece, they gave themselves wholly up to indolence and sloth. Military discipline being quite neglected, their armies were no better than a confused multitude of men ignorant of war. The Greek soldiers retained in their pay formed their choicest troops; and Mnemon the Rhodian was their best general. The command too of those armies was not committed to experienced officers, but to grandees, without any other merit than their high birth or their superior inter-

est at court. Their kings being in a manner buried in their palaces in sloth and debauchery, all public affairs were managed by the interposition of eunuchs and women. The very education of their princes was calculated to render them vicious and weak. For being accustomed from their earliest years to hear nothing but the basest adulation, they were incapable, for the rest of their lives, either to understand good and wholesome counsel, or to make the proper use of it. Their persons being debilitated by effeminacy, and their minds corrupted by flattery, their resolutions generally wanted wisdom, and their enterprises vigour.



C H A P. V.

Affairs of the Greeks, Macedonians, and Persians, from the death of Darius Codomanus to that of Alexander the Great.

LET us for a moment turn our eyes to Greece. The Lacedemonians, hearing that Antipater was gone with all his forces upon an expedition
330. into Thrace, thought the opportunity favourable for shaking off the Macedonian yoke; and they formed a confederacy for that purpose with most of the states of the Peloponnesus. Antipater, receiving intelligence of these proceedings, returned with all possible expedition, and led his troops against the Lacedemonians. The army of the latter amounted altogether to no more than 20,000 foot and 2000 horse, while the troops of Antipater were double that number. An engagement ensued. Both parties fought with extraordinary bravery, and the action was most sharp and obstinate. But Antipater, having by an affected flight drawn the enemy into plainer ground, where he could more effectually employ all his strength, gained the victory at last. King Agis fell fighting valiantly, after having performed astonishing feats of bravery. The Lacedemonians lost more than

3000 men, and the power of Sparta was thereby irretrievably ruined. Antipater communicated the news of this victory to Alexander in very modest terms, from an apprehension of exciting his jealousy. By the directions of Alexander, he punished some of the principal authors of the revolt.

Some of the Greek troops having been about this time discharged by Alexander, the rest of the soldiers imagining that he was preparing to return to Macedonia, were transported with joy at the thought, and instantly fell to packing up their baggage and loading the waggons. Alexander alarmed at this unexpected tumult, commanded the attendance of the officers, who endeavoured to calm his apprehensions, by assuring him that they could easily bring back the troops to a proper sense of their duty. Alexander, however, thought it necessary to assemble the whole army, and to make them a speech, which he delivered in the most prudent and artful terms; commending exceedingly the bravery of both officers and soldiers, and extolling their exploits; but representing to them, that it was absolutely necessary firmly to establish his conquests; and particularly, that it was highly worthy, both of him and his generous soldiers, to punish the treachery of Bessus, who had assassinated his king, with a view to deprive them of the glory of saving him; a piece of justice which he was extremely impatient to discharge.

The soldiers instantly exclaimed, with one voice, that they were ready to follow their prince wherever he pleased. Alexander immediately led them into the country of Hyrcania, which he soon subdued; and, with equal celerity, he conquered the Mardes, Arii, and several other nations. About this time Nabarzanes surrendered himself to Alexander, and brought along with him to that prince the eunuch Bagoas, who had been the chief favourite of Darius. Quintus Curtius pretends, that it was much about this time too that Thalestris queen

of the Amazons, who was desirous of seeing Alexander, came and paid him a visit at the head of 308 women armed with lances. The same author tells us, that as soon as she saw Alexander, she dismounted from her horse; but that after considering him attentively, she could not help taking notice, that his stature by no means corresponded with his fame; that she testified, however, an inclination of becoming his wife for some time, that she might have a child of his begetting to inherit her kingdom, and that Alexander granted her request. But as the best authors, particularly Arian, take no notice of this adventure, the story of Quintus Curtius is justly accounted a fable.

From this period Alexander begins to appear quite another man than we have hitherto seen him. His manners take a different turn. Henceforward he sets no bounds to his pleasures or to his passions, but abandons himself without reserve to voluptuousness and debauchery: and after having appeared superior to all the fatigues and dangers of war, he suffers himself to be overcome by the attractions of pleasure. So true it is, that too high a pitch of prosperity is a weight above the power of human strength to bear. Nothing now prevailed but an uninterrupted course of games and feasts, in which he and his officers consumed whole days and nights in the company of a great number of captive women, who amused them with their singing and other female arts. Grown giddy with his good fortune, and dazzled with these enchanting scenes, he began to despise the austere and hardy manners of the kings of Macedonia, assumed the sumptuous dress of the Persian monarchs, and obliged his officers and friends, much against their inclination, to dress after the same fashion. He desired, too, to imitate the pomp and effeminacy of the Persian kings. He filled his palaces with 360 concubines, and insisted on being addressed with prostration by those who were admitted into his presence. This

behaviour excited murmurs among his troops, especially among the oldest soldiers, who said that Alexander was become a satrap of Darius. To put an end to this discontent, he resolved to lead his army against Bessus. But, before departing, he ordered all his own baggage and that of his soldiers to be brought to one place, where he set fire with his own hand to his own, and desired his soldiers to follow his example by setting fire to theirs. They obeyed, but with great regret, as they thus destroyed all their former booty. Then he set off towards Bactriana, where he still had much danger and fatigue to undergo.

It was about this time that the pretended
330. conspiracy of Philotas happened. Alexander imputed it as a crime to that officer, who was the son of Parmenio, that he had not informed him of a conspiracy against his life by one Dymnus, who had voluntarily put himself to death just as he was on the point of being apprehended. Philotas was tried by an assembly of the whole army, and, in spite of the strongest reasons alleged by him in his justification, was condemned to the most cruel torture. The intenseness of the pain not only extorted from him a confession that he himself was guilty, but even that his father was concerned in the plot. He was condemned and executed after the manner of the Macedonians; being stoned to death.

It is true that some parts of the former behaviour of Philotas had given umbrage to Alexander; and that his haughtiness had procured him many enemies, of whom, unfortunately for him, several were his judges. But it is uncertain whether Alexander really believed Parmenio to be guilty, or whether his subsequent treatment of him did not rather proceed from a dread of the resentment of so able a commander for the cruel injustice done to his son. However that might be, he resolved, in spite of the numberless important services performed for him by that excellent officer, to sacrifice him to his quiet

and security ; and for that purpose he dispatched Polydamus into Media, where Parmenio then commanded, with private instructions to the governor of the province and the principal officers.

All the proper measures being accordingly concerted, those to whom the execution was intrusted, went to Parmenio, whom they found walking in his park, and presented him with a letter as from Philotas. The old general immediately began to inquire very anxiously about the king, and to express the highest admiration at his surprising activity in pushing his conquests. But while thus profusely bestowing praises on Alexander, the venerable old man was, by the orders of that same Alexander, basely assassinated. Thus were rewarded the important services and inviolable attachment of a man seventy years old, who had constantly assisted Alexander with his best advice, and without whom it is highly probable that the warlike operations of that prince never would have been attended with such success ; and this ungrateful and inhuman treatment was inflicted on no better ground than a most improbable suspicion, unsupported by any evidence. This is one of the actions that has thrown the deepest stain on the memory of Alexander.

Alexander persisted in his pursuit of Bessus ; in the course of which he had many fatigues to undergo, many countries to traverse, and many dangers to encounter.—The news of his approach determined the Bactrians to desert Bessus, to whom they had hitherto remained firmly attached. Bessus, therefore, was forced to betake himself to flight ; and passing the river Oxus, he took refuge in Sogdiana with a small body of troops. Alexander having pursued him thither, Spitamenes, the accomplice and confidant of Bessus, formed a conspiracy of the principal officers against him, seized him, loaded him with chains, and delivered him up to Alexander. That prince highly commended the behaviour of Spitamenes ; and ordered Bessus to be delivered

over to Axatres the brother of Darius, to be used with all the ignominy he deserved. But his punishment was delayed till he should be tried in an assembly of the Persians.

It was during his pursuit of Bessus, that Alexander committed an action of the greatest injustice and cruelty that occurs in history. He caused all the inhabitants of a small city where the Branchidæ resided, to be put to death, although they had voluntarily surrendered themselves, and had received him with the highest demonstrations of joy. And for what cause this unprovoked inhumanity? Under pretence that the ancestors of those citizens had behaved perfidiously to the Milesians, by delivering up to Xerxes the treasures of the temple of Idumean-Apollo, whereof the Milesians were the guardians.

Alexander penetrated still farther and farther into Bactriana in search of new conquests. Upon his arrival at the Jaxartes, he was attacked by a barbarous people, who, rushing down upon him from the mountains, made some of his men prisoners. Alexander resolved to force them from their strong holds; but in the attempt was wounded in the leg by an arrow, and carried off to his tent. The barbarians, astonished at the bravery with which they had seen him fight, believed him to be a god, and sent ambassadors to make their submissions.

Having next made himself master of Maracanda, the capital of Sogdiana, he still continued his progress, ravaging the country. In these parts he received an embassy from the Abian-Scythians, a poor nation, who placed their chief glory in the practice of justice, and never made war but in their own defence. They sent to inform Alexander that they submitted to him; and he received them under his protection. But in the mean time, the Sogdians and Bactrians having revolted at the instigation of Spitamenes, Alexander resolved to punish their treachery and that of their leaders. Laying siege,

therefore, to Cyropolis the utmost city in the Persian dominions, he took it by assault, and gave it up to be plundered. Then he besieged the city of the Memaconians, who had put to death fifty of his horsemen, whom he had sent to them with friendly intentions. The besieged made a most desperate resistance. Many of Alexander's best soldiers perished in the enterprize; and he himself narrowly escaped being killed by a stone. As difficulties served only to heighten his courage, he proceeded with more vigour than usual; and having made a breach in the wall by means of a mine, entered the city, and destroyed every thing with fire and sword. He treated several other cities of Sogdiana in the same manner, to punish their revolt. Then he caused a town to be built on the Jaxartes, and called it Alexandria.

While his army was employed at the work, the king of the Scythians, taking umbrage at this new settlement, sent an army to interrupt their operations, and to drive away the Macedonians; and about the same time a detachment that had been sent to Maracanda against Spitamenes, was cut in pieces. This threw Alexander into some perplexity; but he instantly formed his resolution, and assembling his troops, encouraged them by a harangue to pass the Jaxartes. In the mean time, twenty ambassadors arriving from the Scythians were introduced into the tent of Alexander, where they delivered the celebrated speech recorded by Quintus Curtius, which is so much admired for its solidity, ingenuity, and simplicity; and it is perhaps the best piece of composition to be met with in the whole work of that frothy writer. These Scythian ambassadors are made to address themselves to Alexander in very plain terms. They call him without any ceremony a robber, who employed himself in making war on people who had never injured him. "You," say they, "who boast of your coming to exterminate robbers, are yourself the greatest rob-

ber in the world. You have plundered all the nations whom you have subdued. Are not those who live in the woods to be exempted from knowing you, and from feeling your violence? If you are a god, as you say you are, you ought to do good to mankind. If you are a man, you ought to hearken to the dictates of reason and humanity."

To this speech Alexander made a very short answer, telling the ambassadors, that he would make the proper use both of his own good fortune and of their advice. He persisted, however, in his former resolution, and transported his army over the Jaxartes on rafts. This was a bold undertaking. The river was very rapid, and a powerful army appeared on the opposite bank prepared to dispute their landing. The passage accordingly was attended with much difficulty; the Macedonians being obliged to engage before they could make good their landing. But the good fortune of Alexander surmounted all obstacles. The barbarians, unable to sustain the shock of the Macedonian cavalry, were broken and put to flight. Alexander lost in the action sixty horsemen. The fame of this victory obtained over the Scythians, made the Macedonians to be regarded as invincible.

Alexander, eager to get hold of Spitamenes, returned towards Maracanda; but Spitamenes fled on his approach. Having sacked the city of Sogdiana, he found there, among other prisoners, thirty young men of extraordinary beauty, with whose fortitude he was no less delighted than with their fine appearance; for they testified unshaken resolution on hearing that they were to be put to death. Alexander asked them, whether they would accept of life, on condition of engaging in his service. The young men consented, and afterwards served him with great fidelity. From thence he proceeded to Bactria, where he caused the nose and ears of Bessus to be cut off, and then sent him to Ecbatana.

There the traitor's four limbs were tied to as many bended trees, which tore his body in pieces.

About this time Alexander received a reinforcement of 16,000 men from Macedonia, with whose assistance he was enabled to subdue the rest of the country of Sogdiana, of which only one place called Petra Oxiana now held out. This being a strong fort, situated in the face of a steep rock, inaccessible on all sides except by one narrow path, and being defended by a powerful garrison, its governor would listen to no terms of surrender. Any person but Alexander would have thought it madness to attempt the attack of such a place; but he loved to contend with obstacles that appeared insurmountable. Selecting therefore 300 of his most active soldiers, he commanded them to climb this rock in the most accessible place. They complied with the orders of their king; but about thirty of them lost their lives in the enterprise by falling from the precipices. At last, however, after incredible labour and difficulty, they reached the summit of the rock, and displayed the appointed signal to the Macedonians below, who thereupon pointed out to Arimazus the governor of the place, the soldiers who had taken post on the top of the rock above him. At the same time the whole army shouted for joy. Arimazus, astonished at the boldness of Alexander's troops, thought himself undone, and offered to deliver up the place, on the sole condition of having the lives of himself and his garrison spared. But Alexander refused to grant him even that; and having got possession of the place, he crucified him at the foot of the rock.

Then Alexander subdued the country of the Masagetæ and Dahæ. In this country, having been attacked by a lion when hunting, he killed the furious animal with one stroke.

On his return to Maracanda he gave a grand entertainment; at which being flustered more than ordinary by the great quantity of wine he had drunk,

he boasted very highly of his own exploits, undervalued exceedingly those of his father, and even ridiculed some passages of Philip's life. The oldest officers who had served under Philip were much offended at this behaviour; and Clitus in particular who had saved Alexander's life at the battle of the Granicus, could not conceal his dissatisfaction. It is true, that Clitus carried the matter too far; for, not satisfied with extolling to the skies the actions of Philip, and setting them far above those of Alexander, he was rash enough to enter on the defence of Parmenio's memory, insisted on the particulars of his tragical fate with great acrimony, and concluded with observing, that the officers of Alexander might judge from thence what sort of reward they had to expect for their past services. Alexander, though much exasperated, retained his passion for some moments, and commanded Clitus to leave the room. Clitus, accordingly, rising up, exclaimed, addressing himself to Alexander, "I see plainly you can no longer endure the conversation of men who are free; and that you desire rather to live among slaves, disposed on all occasions to pay homage to your Persian robe." Alexander, unable any longer to contain himself, seized a javelin to kill Clitus; but some of the guests interposed and prevented him, while others forced Clitus away. A little while after, however, Clitus having returned singing verses injurious to Alexander, the enraged prince sprang forwards, transfixed him with a javelin, and threw him to the ground; exclaiming, "Go then, and join Philip and Parmenio." But
328. seeing Clitus dead, he was instantly struck with horror at what he had done, reflecting, that he had killed a man to whom he owed his life, and that for a few imprudent words which the power of wine alone had made him utter. Transported with grief, he threw himself on the body of Clitus; and seizing the javelin with which he had killed him, attempted to plunge it into his own body.

But his friends prevented him, and carried him into his chamber by force. There he continued nearly two days stretched on the floor, weeping and lamenting, and determined to let himself perish of hunger. But the soothsayer Aristander, assisted by the philosophers Callisthenes and Anaxarchus, argued him out of this resolution. This tragical event exhibits a very signal proof of the dreadful effects of drunkenness and anger; and shows the great importance of early avoiding those most dangerous vices, which obscured all the glory of Alexander's splendid actions, and enslaved that great conqueror of so many nations.

Alexander having in a good measure recovered from his grief, again took the field, subdued a province on the borders of Scythia, and got possession of the rock Choriana, though not without very great labour and difficulty. It was after this expedition that the wife of Spitamenes, after endeavouring in vain by every sort of entreaty to persuade her husband to make his peace with Alexander, murdered him at last during the night, and brought his head to that prince; who, shocked at so horrible an action in a woman, ordered her to be dismissed with ignominy. Still continuing his march, he was overtaken by a dreadful storm, which was succeeded by weather so excessively cold, that more than 1000 soldiers died of it; and if Alexander had not given orders to cut down a great number of trees, and to make fires of them, the whole army must have perished.

Arriving in the country of the Sacæ, he was received in a most respectful and magnificent manner by Oxiartes their king, who gave him a grand entertainment, at which his daughter Roxana was present. This lady, besides the most exquisite beauty, possessed a great deal of gaiety and wit, and captivated Alexander so highly, that he made her his wife. But the marriage gave much dissatisfaction to the Macedonians.

Alexander, insatiably bent on conquest, resolved to penetrate into the Indies, which was accounted the richest country on earth. With this view he ordered the shields of his soldiers to be indented with plates of silver, their coats of mail to be adorned with gold, and the bridles of the horses to be gilded. But before setting out, he resolved to put in execution a scheme that he had long revolved in his mind, namely, to obtain divine honours to be paid him by his soldiers. For this purpose he gave a most magnificent entertainment, to which he invited his whole court, as well Greeks and Macedonians as Persians. After remaining some time at table himself, he retired. Then Cleon, one of the most servile of his flatterers, in consequence of a previous concert, began a pompous oration; in which he expatiated on the wonderful merit and extraordinary exploits of Alexander, enumerated with extreme ostentation the many obligations conferred by him on all who were present, and concluded with a proposal to acknowledge him for a divinity. For this he cited the example of former great conquerors placed among the number of the gods, such as Hercules and Bacchus. He assured the company, that on Alexander's returning, he himself would be the first to salute him as a god; and he exhorted all the other guests, and particularly the best and wisest among them, to follow his example. By these last words he hinted at the philosopher Callisthenes, a man very highly esteemed for his knowledge in the sciences, and for the purity of his manners. Callisthenes perceiving the eyes of the whole company fixed on him, stood up, and made a speech; in which, after observing that the king himself, if he had been present, would never have permitted Cleon to utter such gross flattery, he declared, that though that prince was worthy the highest honour and praise, yet there was an immense difference between the honour merited by the most perfect mortal and the worship due to the almighty gods;

that to the last, no man living could ever be intitled, nor could presume to accept that divine title, till he had thrown off mortality ; that the practice of the Persians, which had been urged as a precedent by Cleon, ought, on many accounts, to be of no weight here, since it was impossible that the vanquished could ever give law to the victors. Alexander, who was concealed in an adjoining apartment, overheard every syllable of what passed ; and returning soon after into the hall of entertainment, was immediately adored by the Persians.

Callisthenes soon received the reward of his generous sentiments. A plot having been discovered against the life of Alexander, whereof one Hermolaus was the principal author, Callisthenes was comprehended in the number of conspirators on account of his friendship with Hermolaus, was thrown into prison, and put to the torture ; under the torments of which he expired, protesting his innocence with his last breath. What horrid barbarity ! This instance of unjust vengeance is a perpetual dishonour on the character of Alexander. Seneca calls it, with great justice, an eternal reproach, and a crime that never can be wiped out by the greatest talents and most shining exploits : “ For (adds the philosopher) if we mention Alexander’s having slain with his own hand 1000 Persians ; his having dethroned the most powerful king in the world ; his having penetrated to the ocean ; still the remembrance of his having unjustly murdered Callisthenes will recur upon our minds, and efface the splendour of all those great actions.”

Independent of the eager desire for conquest entertained by Alexander, he had learned from the fabulous traditions of the Greeks, that Hercules and Bacchus, both sons of Jupiter, had carried their arms into the Indies ; which, of itself, was a sufficient motive for him to undertake the same expedition. The danger and difficulty that attended such an enterprise, was to Alexander an additional motive

still. We will not pretend to say how far his conduct in that respect was justifiable. But thus far we may venture to assert, that true glory never can consist in increasing human misery, too great already through the unavoidable accidents of life, by diffusing ruin and destruction over the face of the earth, and wantonly disturbing the peace and quiet of mankind.

As soon as Alexander entered India, many petty sovereigns paid him their homage and obedience. One nation, however, had the courage to oppose him. But they were defeated after a slight engagement; and Alexander, to strike terror into others who might be inclined to follow their example, besieged their capital city, took it, and put all the inhabitants to the sword. Then he marched against the city of Nysus, which surrendered at discretion. And now nothing was heard of but the daily reduction of cities on all sides, and that in spite of a thousand difficulties. But Alexander surmounted every obstacle of art and nature, by such an uninterrupted series of good fortune, as appeared altogether supernatural. Happening to be wounded in the leg by an arrow, at the siege of one of those towns named Magosa, the pain extorted from him these remarkable words; “the whole world calls me the son of Jupiter, but this wound makes me sensible that I am still a man.”

Arriving at the river Indus, he passed it without any difficulty, the necessary preparations having been made by Ephæstion, who had gone before for that purpose. The king of that country, named Taxilus, came to meet him, and put into his power both his person and dominions, “knowing (as he said) that Alexander fought only for glory.” On being asked by Alexander, who was highly pleased with his address, of what he stood most in need? he answered, “Of soldiers;” because he had a war to maintain against two neighbouring kings, Abisares and Porus; of whom the latter, who lived beyond the Hydaspes, was the most powerful. Taxi-

lus sent a present of fifty elephants to Alexander, who, in return, bestowed on that prince magnificent marks of his bounty.

Abisares followed the example of Taxilus, and sent ambassadors to put all his dominions under the power and protection of Alexander. But Porus was a prince of sentiments too generous and elevated to stoop to so mean a behaviour. Alexander, surprised at neither receiving a visit from Porus himself nor from any person in his name, sent to inform him that he must pay him tribute, and come in person to make his submissions. Porus answered, that if he were to pay him a visit it should be with his arms in his hand. Alexander then advanced to the river Hydaspes, which was very broad, deep, and rapid; and on the opposite bank, Porus appeared ready to dispute the passage, at the head of a formidable army, with a number of elephants ranged in its front. But the danger of passing the river was what terrified the Macedonians the most; for they could no where find a ford. Alexander had previously caused a great number of boats to be so constructed that they could be taken to pieces, and by that means be easily transported from place to place. As the river was full of islands, the youngest and most vigorous of the Macedonians threw themselves into the water with no other arms than their javelins, and swimming to one of those islands in which the enemy had made a lodgement, attacked and killed a great number of them. But a fresh reinforcement arriving to the assistance of the Indians, they advanced against the Macedonians, overwhelmed them with their darts, and obliged them to swim back again to the rest of their army. Porus, who beheld this skirmish, was much elated with its success.

Alexander, anxious to cross the river, had recourse to a stratagem to effect his purpose. He gave orders to make a bustle and noise in several different places, as if he had a mind there to attempt a pas-

sage. By these means he distracted the attention of Porus, who immediately hurried towards those places. Alexander, in the mean time, after committing the charge of the camp to Craterus, with part of the troops, to impress the enemy with a belief that the whole army still continued in its former position, marched away with the rest, and passed, undiscovered, in boats, into a small island overgrown with wood. A violent storm of rain and thunder coming on, capable of discouraging any other person than Alexander, favoured his passage. While passing the river in a boat, he is said to have let drop these striking expressions: "O, Athenians! could you believe that I would willingly expose myself to so great dangers in order to attract your commendations?"

While Porus kept a strict eye on Craterus, who, by his motions, seemed determined to attempt the passage, Alexander reached the farther side without molestation: and immediately drawing up his army in battle order, although it consisted of no more than 6000 men and 5000 horse, made the proper dispositions for fighting.

Porus hearing that Alexander had made good his passage, detached against him a considerable party of cavalry under the command of one of his sons. But Alexander attacking this detachment with great vigour, cut off the greatest part of them, and killed their commander. Porus informed of the death of his son, and of the defeat of his troops under his command, advanced against Alexander with his whole army, consisting of 30,000 foot, 4000 horse, 600 chariots, and 200 elephants, which he drew up in battle order, with the elephants in the front. Alexander made various evolutions with his cavalry, to protract the time till the rest of his infantry should arrive. Then, instead of attacking the main body of the enemy, he dispatched 1000 archers to assail the cavalry, on their left wing in front; ordered Cænus to make a sudden evolution,

and to attack the same cavalry in the rear, and he himself charged them in flank.

The Indians, thus harassed on all sides, gave ground and retreated towards their elephants. In the mean time, the Macedonian infantry having formed themselves into their phalanx, advanced against those dreadful animals, and assailed them with their spears. The elephants, rendered furious by their wounds, broke through the thickest of the Macedonian battalions. But Alexander, after throwing the enemy's left wing into confusion, united his cavalry, which was superior to that of the enemy, into one body, and carried terror and disorder throughout. The elephants, now deprived of their conductors, ran about at random, and overthrew every thing that came in their way. At last the Macedonian infantry formed again, made a vigorous effort, completed the disorder among the Indian cavalry, and cut most of them in pieces. Craterus having by this time passed the river with the rest of the army, fell upon those who were retreating, and made a great slaughter. The Indians

327. lost in this battle, 20,000 foot; and most of their elephants were either killed or taken. Alexander lost no more than 112 men.

Porus, after behaving with surprising bravery, and being wounded in the shoulder, was obliged at last, when he saw his army totally defeated, to retreat on his elephant. Alexander, desirous to save him, sent Taxilus to persuade him to surrender. But Porus, instead of listening to his persuasions, cried out, on seeing him approach, "is not that Taxilus, the traitor of his subjects and his native country!" Other officers, therefore, being dispatched to Porus with the same intention, at last, with much difficulty, prevailed upon him to consent; and Alexander himself advanced to meet him. Porus approaching him with a resolute undaunted air, was asked by Alexander, "how he desired to be treated?"—"As a king," answered Porus. "Do you

wish for nothing else?" replied Alexander:—"No," said Porus, "that comprehends every thing." Alexander, struck with admiration at his magnanimity, left him in possession of his kingdom, and behaved to him with the highest marks of honour and esteem. Alexander ordered a city to be built on the field of battle, and called it Nicea.

Advancing still further into the Indies, he subdued many nations. Alexander now seemed to regard himself as commissioned by the gods to enslave the universe, and to exterminate those who should presume to oppose his power. Marching against the Chateans, a valiant people, who had united for the defence of their common liberty, he defeated them in a great battle near a city called Pangala, which he next took and destroyed. It was there that he found the brachmans, who were both the philosophers and likewise the ministers of religion in India, and were very highly revered and esteemed by their countrymen. These brachmans led a most austere life: they drank nothing but water, subsisted on herbs and roots, spent much of their time in singing hymns to the gods, fasted often, continued all their lives in a state of celibacy, and when oppressed by decrepitude, or the infirmities of old age, voluntarily and cheerfully burnt themselves to death. Cicero relates several instances of their astonishing patience. They believed that the world had a beginning, and that it shall have an end. They entertained the same opinion as Plato with respect to the immortality of the soul; but they adopted the doctrine of the metempsychosis.

When these philosophers saw Alexander, they stamped on the ground with their feet. Being asked their reason for this behaviour, they informed that prince, that no person could really possess more of that element, the earth, than the small space of it which he actually occupied; that Alexander differed not materially from other men, except in being

more restless and ambitious; and that when he should die, as die he must, he could then occupy no greater a part of all his vast conquests than any other man. One of these philosophers, named Calanus, at the earnest intreaty of one of Alexander's officers, agreed to accompany that prince in his expeditions. These philosophers commonly made use of allusions and metaphors, the better to explain their meaning. Their chief, to give Alexander a more lively idea of the state of a great empire, having laid on the ground a large dry ox's hide, pressed with his foot each of its corners, one after another; and desired the king to remark, that, on his doing so, the other parts of the hide rose up; but at last placing his foot in the middle, he kept the whole level. By this he meant to insinuate, that a king ought to reside in the centre of his dominions, so as to be able to prevent all revolts and disorders in the remotest quarters of it; and that he ought never to undertake such distant expeditions as that which Alexander was then prosecuting.

The Macedonians perceiving, in the mean time, that Alexander, whose intention was still to push forward, was taking measures for passing the river Hyphasus, could no longer conceal their discontent. They complained loudly, that their king seemed determined to set no bounds to his expeditions; that he was still advancing farther and farther from their native country; and that he seemed quite unconcerned at the excessive dangers and fatigues to which he was continually exposing his troops. Alexander hearing of this commotion, assembled the whole army, and made a long speech, wherein he laboured to persuade them to pass the Hyphasus; telling them, that to retreat at present would appear a disgraceful flight; that all his hopes were placed on their courage and resolution; that by their assistance, he assured himself of success in all his enterprises; and he begged of them not to frustrate his glorious expectations, of rivalling the exploits of

Hercules and of Bacchus. Perceiving, however, that his arguments produced no effect on his soldiers, who held down their heads in mournful silence, he exclaimed, "What! not one of you answer me? then I am abandoned, betrayed, delivered over to my enemies. Be it so, then; but still I will pass this river, should not a single man of you accompany me. The Scythians, the Bactrians, more faithful than you, will follow me wherever I lead them. Return, return to your native country, base betrayers of your king, and boast of having deserted him amidst barbarous and hostile nations. As for me, I shall either find here the victory of which you despair, or a glorious death."

In spite of this pathetic address, both officers and soldiers persisted in their silence. At length their grief burst forth in sighs and tears, insomuch that Alexander himself could not refrain from weeping. Then Cænus advancing forward to the throne, and taking off his helmet, pled the cause of the army. He assured Alexander, that the affection entertained for him by his soldiers was nowise diminished; that they were ready to march whithersoever he desired to lead them; but he begged him to listen to their respectful representations. "We have performed every thing for you," continued he, "that it is in the power of men to perform: We have traversed the earth in your service, we have arrived victorious at the end of one world, and yet you meditate the conquest of another; look on these disfigured countenances, and on these limbs covered with scars; the poor remains of us that have escaped from so many dangers and fatigues want strength to follow you farther. We all earnestly desire to revisit our native country, there to enjoy the fruits of our toils. Forgive this desire, which nature has implanted in the breasts of all men." These words were accompanied by the groans and tears of the whole army, who called Alexander their lord and father. The officers next addressed him to the same

purpose. Still, however, he remained inflexible, and shut himself alone in his tent. But finding the soldiers obstinate in their resolution, he at last issued orders for their preparing to return. This news spread inconceivable joy through the troops; and the camp resounded with the praises of the king.

Before setting out, Alexander caused twelve
326. altars of an extraordinary height to be erected; a camp of far greater dimensions than the one he really occupied, to be marked out; and a bed seven feet and a half in length, to be made in each tent. By these extravagant operations, he intended to impress posterity with a belief that he and his men exceeded in stature all the rest of the human race. The necessary preparations being made, the army embarked aboard a fleet of 800 vessels, and proceeded to the conflux of the Hydaspes and Acesinus.

After suffering greatly from the violence of those rivers, Alexander entered the country of the Oxydracæ and Mallians, two warlike nations. Having defeated them in several engagements, he marched against the capital of the Oxydracæ, and besieged it. Here he was the first man that mounted the wall; his men hastened to support him; but the ladders break, and he is left alone. To avoid the darts hurled at him from all quarters, he jumps into the city amidst the enemy. Here he ran the greatest danger he was ever exposed to. He places his back to the trunk of a large tree, wards off with his shield the darts aimed at him, and with his sword keeps the nearest of his enemy at bay: At last he is deeply wounded with an arrow, and his arms fall from his hands. An Indian believing him dead, approaches to strip him of his armour. Alexander recovers himself, and plunges a dagger into the Indian's body. His principal officers arriving in the mean time, performed prodigies of valour to save their king, and sustained all the efforts of the enemy till the rest of the army forced the gates, and

rushing in put all they met to the sword. Then Alexander was carried off to his tent; but as the surgeons were obliged to enlarge the wound before they could extract the arrow, he fainted under the operation, and his men imagined him dead. It was several days before he recovered of this wound. As soon as he was able to go abroad, he presented himself to his soldiers, to dispel their apprehensions.

In the mean time deputies arrived from the Oxydracæ and Mallians, bringing him presents, promising to pay him tribute, and offering to deliver him hostages. Alexander accepted of those tokens of submission, and appeared well pleased with the embassy. Craterus seizing this favourable moment, represented to him the terror into which his late danger had thrown the army, intreated him to be more careful of so precious a life for the future, and to reserve his bravery for some occasion worthy of it. We shudder with horror, added he, at the very idea of the extreme danger to which you exposed your important life in a dispute for so paltry a place. Alexander, delighted with this strong mark of the affection of his officers, embraced them one after another; and made them an excellent speech, in which he discovered all his greatness of soul. He assured them, that he entertained the most grateful sense of the repeated marks of affection they had shown him: "but," continued he, "you and I think of this matter very differently: you desire to enjoy my society for a long while; but I do not estimate life by the length of its duration, but by the opportunities it affords me of gaining glory. I might indeed, circumscribe my ambition within the narrow limits of Macedonia, and spend my life in inactivity and sloth; and I confess too, that counting by my victories, and not by my years, I may be said to have lived long already. But were it not unbecoming in me, after making but one empire of Europe and of Asia, to stop short in so noble a career, and to relinquish the path of glory, in which I have re-

solved for ever to tread? Only protect me from base treachery and domestic enemies, by which most princes have perished, and I myself will take care of what remains.”

The magnanimity that shines through this discourse is sufficiently expressive of the great soul that animated the Macedonian hero; and whatever our opinion of his conquests and ambition may be, it is impossible for us not to admire his noble and elevated sentiments.

Alexander next led his army into the country of the Sarbacæ; who, though a powerful nation, were struck with terror at his arrival, and immediately made him their submissions. Thence continuing his route, he arrived at Patala, where he caused a citadel and harbour to be built. In this place the river Indus divides itself into two large branches. Seized with a desire to see the ocean, he embarked his whole army at this place upon the right-hand branch of the river. When he approached the ocean, his heart exulted with joy, and he assured his soldiers, that they were now at the end of their labours, and that their exploits had reached to the farther bounds of nature. His fleet, in the mean time, was exposed to great danger by the ebbing and flowing of the ocean. Ignorant of the cause of this phenomenon, both officers and soldiers were thrown into the greatest consternation. Alexander, however, still proceeded forward with part of the fleet, to get a view of the extent of sea that was before him; and arriving at the ocean at last, he performed a solemn sacrifice to Neptune. After having thus, as he imagined, pushed his conquests to the remotest corners of the earth, he returned to join the rest of his army in the neighbourhood of Patala.

He then seriously gave orders for making the necessary preparations for his return. He embarked the best of his troops on board of his fleet, of which he gave Nearchus the command; and with the rest he himself set out for Babylon by

land. Nearchus, being obliged to wait till the season became favourable, did not leave India till about the end of September. Alexander suffered much on his march by famine and the inclemency of the weather, insomuch that three-fourths of his army, which at his departure amounted, by Arrian's account, to 120,000 foot and 15,000 horse, perished on the way. They were obliged to eat even the beasts of burden; and, to crown their miseries, the plague broke out among the troops. After continuing his journey for sixty days, he arrived at last in the fruitful country of Gedrosia, where he halted some time to repose his troops, and to recruit his cavalry, receiving every kind of provisions in great abundance from the neighbouring princes. Being now on the confines of Persia, he gave his soldiers most beautiful arms; and he traversed the province

of Carmania, not so much like a conqueror
325. as like another Bacchus; affecting to imitate the pretended triumph of that god in his progress through Asia, after his conquest of the Indies.

Alexander was mounted on a chariot drawn by eight horses, and appeared sitting at a table, where he spent the whole day in feasting and debauchery. This chariot was preceded by several others, of which some were covered with rich tapestry in the form of tents, and others with branches of trees, disposed in the form of arbours. Along the road the soldiers found large casks full of wine, ready broached, of which they drank as much as they pleased. The whole country re-echoed with the sound of musical instruments, and with the noise of bacchanals, running about in the most frantic manner, with their hair loose and dishevelled. This procession, which presented nothing to the eyes but people drunk with wine, lasted seven days.

Nearchus in the mean time prosecuted his voyage, by coasting along the shores of the ocean. Arriving at last at a place distant, as he was told, only five days journey from where Alexander happened

to be ; he set out to find him, and informed him, that the fleet, about the fate of which Alexander began to be very uneasy, was out of all danger. After acquainting Alexander with this agreeable piece of news, Nearchus returned to his fleet, and sailed up the Euphrates till he reached Babylon.

While Alexander remained in the country of Carmania, he received grievous complaints against several of his governors of provinces ; who, concluding that he never would return to call them to account for their conduct, had exercised every sort of tyranny and rapine during his absence. Alexander thinking it proper, by a speedy execution of justice, to ensure the affections of the conquered provinces, caused to be put to death all the governors convicted of oppression, together with those who had acted as the ministers of their violence. What a happiness for a state, when its prince applies the sword, which he ought not to carry in vain, to punish the oppressors of his subjects, and to take vengeance on the instruments of tyranny and injustice !

Alexander arriving at Pasagarda, a city of Persia, was met by Orsinus, the governor of that country, a man possessed of immense riches, who brought to the king a great number of magnificent presents, among which were many fine horses, chariots adorned with gold, several precious pieces of furniture, golden vases, and 4000 talents of silver. Besides these presents to the king, Orsinus bestowed marks of his bounty on all the principal officers of Alexander, except the eunuch Bagoas, that prince's chief favourite, for whom he entertained a thorough contempt. Servants employed about princes as the instruments of their vilest passions, are always endued with souls as sordid as their stations, and are capable of sacrificing to their base resentments the most sacred considerations. This infamous eunuch omitted no means to ruin Orsinus in

the opinion of the king, and was perpetually accusing him of treason and of rapine. Not satisfied with employing calumny for this villanous purpose, he suborned some of Orsinus's retainers to become at a proper season the accusers of their master. After having by these means instilled into the mind of Alexander suspicions against his subjects, and by that means having artfully disposed him to give credit to the grossest accusations against him, he at last got him accused to the king, of having plundered the tomb of Cyrus, within which Alexander, in place of the immense riches which he was made to expect, found nothing but a shield and some arms. The magi, who were entrusted with the care of the tomb, were put to the torture in vain. Bagoas at last prevailed with the followers of Orsinus, whom he had corrupted, to accuse their master of having stolen those treasures; and Orsinus was thereupon seized and put to death, without being allowed to make any defence. A striking example to princes of the danger of suffering themselves to be too easily prepossessed against any of their subjects or dependants by the insidious arts of their favourites.

While Alexander remained at Pasagarda, the brachman Calanus who had accompanied that prince in many of his expeditions, having been attacked by a violent fit of the cholic, resolved to put an end to his days; and, by the most earnest entreaties, at last obtained permission to cause a funeral pile to be erected, upon which he might burn himself. After offering up his prayers to the gods, and performing the other ceremonies practised in his native country, he embraced his friends, begged of them to spend the day in feasting and making merry with Alexander, mounted the funeral pile, covered his face, and suffered himself to be burnt with all the marks of cheerfulness and satisfaction. Alexander, in compliance with the request of Calanus, assembled his friends, and having proposed a

prize to him who should drink the most, the whole company indulged themselves in so great an excess of wine, that forty-one of them died of it. What a monstrous scene !*

Then Alexander visited Persepolis, and was struck with great regret for having burnt that fine city. From Persepolis he proceeded to Susa, where the fleet and army met. In this city, Alexander took to wife Statira, the eldest daughter of Darius, and bestowed the youngest on Ephæstion. Most of his principal officers followed the example, and married the daughters of the noblest Persians. Alexander gave a grand entertainment to all the new married, at which 9000 guests are said to have been present. The king, on this occasion, resolved to discharge all the debts of his soldiers : a generosity worthy of Alexander, for they amounted to 10,000 talents. He did not even desire them to specify the particular debts that each of them owed. As the soldiers seemed at first to doubt the sincerity of his intentions, he expressed to them that excellent sentiment, “ That a king ought never to break his word with his subjects, nor ought subjects ever to suspect the sincerity of their sovereign’s professions.”

While Alexander continued at Susa, he was joined by 30,000 young Persians, destined to supply the place of the old decayed soldiers. They were all strong and well made, and were armed and disciplined after the Macedonian manner. They passed in review before the king, who was delighted to see the fine appearance of this new army.

Harpalus, whom Alexander had left governor of Babylon, had dissipated, in the most extravagant manner, the immense riches that had been committed to his care, indulging himself in all kinds of de-

* The conqueror in this abominable contest was named Pro-machus. He is said to have drunk on this occasion fourteen bottles, or fourteen English quarts ; and to have survived his victory but three days.

bauchery, on the supposition that Alexander never would return to call him to an account. But getting notice at last of his arrival, and of the severity with which he had treated the other governors who had been guilty of malversations in their duty, he quitted the service of Alexander, and taking with him 5000 talents, the remains of his former wealth, retired to Athens. On his arrival there, the mercenary orators immediately offered him their best services. Harpalus, finding that Phocion possessed great credit with the people, offered him a present of 700 talents. But that virtuous republican rejected his offer with disdain, and desired him to desist from corrupting his fellow-citizens with his money. This was not the first time that Phocion had given proof of his disinterestedness and integrity. He had rejected with the same firmness, the offers both of Philip and Alexander. Harpalus attempted likewise to corrupt Demosthenes. But his attempts at first were ineffectual; afterwards, however, Demosthenes having one day expressed great admiration at the sight of a sumptuous cup that had belonged to one of the kings of Persia, of which Harpalus had got possession, the Persian sent him that same night the cup, together with twenty talents, the value of it. This coming to the knowledge of the people, threw them into a violent rage against Demosthenes; who, to avoid the effects of their displeasure, fled from Athens, and remained in exile till some time after the death of Alexander, residing for the most part at Trezene. In the opinion of Pausanias, it is far from being sufficiently proved, that Demosthenes really gave way to this temptation of Harpalus.

Alexander, in the mean time, desirous of indulging his eyes with another view of the ocean, descended to it by the river Elea; and after coasting along the Persian gulf to the mouth of the Tigris, he remounted that river till he arrived at the place where his army was encamped. At his return he

issued a proclamation, permitting such of the Macedonian soldiers as were unable any longer to support the fatigues of war, to return to Greece. The troops gave an unfavourable interpretation to this indulgence of their king, believing that he intended to fix the seat of his empire in Asia instead of Macedonia, and that he desired to free his hands altogether of his Macedonian soldiers, to whom he preferred his late Persian levies. Rendered furious at this thought, they hurried in a tumultuous manner to find their king, and demanded of him, that since he no longer valued his Macedonian soldiers, he would discharge them all, for they were resolved to serve him no longer. This seditious address threw Alexander into so violent a passion, that he ordered thirteen of the ringleaders to be instantly seized and put to death. This instance of authority so terrified the rest, that they durst not look up nor utter a syllable. Then Alexander, mounting his tribunal, reproached them in very severe terms, with the many marks of kindness he had bestowed on them; and concluded with these words: "You require your discharge; I grant it; depart, and publish to the world, that you have abandoned your king to the mercy of the nations he has conquered, who have shown greater attachment to him than you." Having spoken thus, he retired to his tent.

The Macedonians, now sensible of their folly, burst out into sighs and lamentations, hastened to the tent of the king, threw down their arms, and confessed their fault with tears. Alexander, seeing them in this situation, could not himself refrain from weeping. Coming out of his tent, therefore, he told them, that he restored to them his friendship. Then he discharged all who were unable longer to bear arms; made each of them large presents, and gave orders that the foremost seats at all public games should be reserved for them. Craterus was appointed to conduct them home; and, at the same time, he was created governor of Macedo-

nia in place of Antipater; whom Alexander, in compliance with the earnest request of his mother, who was continually teasing him with accusations against that officer, desired to have him near his own person.

Thence proceeding to Ecbatana in Media, he celebrated numberless games and feasts, at which the whole court gave themselves up to the most extravagant excesses of drinking. These debauches proved fatal to Ephæstion, the most intimate
324. friend of Alexander, and whom he used to call another self. As Ephæstion was modest and benevolent, and employed his influence with great discretion, his death was universally regretted. Even Alexander himself, forgetting his dignity, gave way to the most tender feelings of friendship, and appeared quite inconsolable. To divert his grief, he undertook an expedition against the Cosseians, a warlike nation; and having conquered them, he set out for Babylon.

Before he arrived at that city, the astrologers and Chaldean soothsayers sent him word, that great danger threatened his life in case he entered Babylon. This denunciation alarmed Alexander very much at first. But the Greek philosopher having, on the principles of Anaxagoras, demonstrated to him the folly of astrology, he immediately advanced towards Babylon with his whole army. But he had still another motive for hastening towards that city, namely, that he might there receive the homage of many ambassadors, who had come thither for that purpose, from different kingdoms of the world. Alexander, therefore, made his entry into Babylon with the utmost pomp imaginable. He received, with equal dignity and complaisance, the congratulations of all the ambassadors, but particularly of those from the states of Greece. Upon the deputies from Corinth making him an offer of the freedom of their city, he could not help smiling at the singularity of such an offer to so mighty a prince. But

on being informed, that this privilege had never been before bestowed on any stranger but Hercules alone, he immediately received it with joy. Then he applied all his attention to celebrate the funerals of Ephæstion; which were attended with such pomp and magnificence, as to surpass every thing of the same kind that had ever appeared in the world before. He got together the most skilful architects from all quarters, and bestowed great pains on leveling the spot whereon the pile was to be placed.

The edifice formed a square consisting of thirty divisions; in each of which was erected a similar building to that in the rest, covered and embellished with extraordinary magnificence. Along the front were disposed 240 prows of ships; on which were placed figures of archers and warriors six and a half feet high; the spaces between the prows were hung with purple stuffs: above the prows was a range of torches twenty-four feet high, forming a sort of colonade, adorned with fifty-three crowns of gold: the capitals of this colonade consisted of figures in the shape of eagles; above this colonade stood another, representing a hunting match; above this appeared a fourth, exhibiting the battle of the Centaurs. The roof of the edifice was decorated with trophies and urns; and on the entablatures were placed figures representing syrens, within which were concealed musicians, who sung mournful airs in honour of the deceased. This edifice was upwards of 200 feet high; and the whole expence of the funeral amounted to about £1,500,000 sterling*.

What folly, thus to consume in empty show such an immense sum, produced by the toil and labour of the most useful subjects. But not satisfied with all

* The principal architect of the monument erected by Alexander to the memory of Ephæstion, is said to have been named Stesicrates. This artist had some time before proposed to Alexander to cut mount Athos into a statue representing him, which should in its right hand hold a large river, and in its left a city containing 10,000 inhabitants.

these marks of honour paid to the memory of his beloved Ephæstion, Alexander resolved to offer sacrifices to him as a god, and that under the authority of a response of the oracle of Jupiter Ammon ; to obtain which a proper person was dispatched with the necessary instructions. He himself set the example ; after which, in order to please the prince, numberless temples were every where erected to Ephæstion, and it was reckoned criminal even to doubt of his being a god.

As Babylon was the greatest and the most beautiful city of the east, Alexander resolved to beautify it still more, and to make it the seat of his empire. In the first place, therefore, he gave orders to repair the bulwark formerly constructed to confine the Euphrates to its channel, but which that river had in a great measure demolished. This useful project, however, as well as that of rebuilding the temple of Belus, which had been ruined by Xerxes, as the idol worshipped in it had been Cyrus, together with all his other projects, were put a stop to by his death.

The melancholy idea of approaching dissolution had now laid fast hold on the imagination of Alexander. Every accident struck him with terror, and carried an evil presage along with it. He became a downright slave to superstition, and was perpetually offering up sacrifices to render fate propitious, and to obtain the knowledge of futurity. To divert the constant stings of apprehension, he employed his time in an uninterrupted course of feasting and drinking, particularly the latter, in which he indulged himself to such excess, that he thereby greatly accelerated his death. After having at one of these feasts already drunk to great excess, he resolved nevertheless to empty the cup of Hercules, which contained six bottles. But he had no sooner swallowed it than he fell to the ground, and was seized with a violent fever, which quickly reduced him to the point of death. Finding that there was no hope of recovery left, he delivered his ring to Perdiccas, and permit-

ted all his soldiers to kiss his hand. On being asked to whom he left his empire? "To the most worthy," answered he. He added that he foresaw with what strange rites they would celebrate his funeral. Perdiccas having asked him, how soon he desired they should pay divine honours to his memory? He answered, "when you shall be happy." These were his last words. He died at the age of thirty-two, after reigning twelve years.

Some authors, and Quintus Curtius among
323. the rest, pretended that he died by poison. But this opinion is by no means properly supported; and it is far more probable that he died of excessive drinking.

As soon as his death was known, nothing was heard but weeping and lamentation. The victors and the vanquished equally bewailed his death. The Persians extolled him as the mildest and the justest of their monarchs; the Macedonians proclaimed him to have been the best and the bravest prince in the world. The grief of the latter was heightened by their present melancholy situation beyond the Euphrates, and in the midst of their enemies. They foresaw, too, the wars and divisions that must unavoidably arise from his having named no successor. Sysigambis mourned his death as sincerely as she had done that of her own son; and finding herself, by this event, without further resource or hope, she gave way to the suggestions of despair, and starved herself to death.

The officers, after disputing for seven days, at last agreed, that Arideus, the brother of Alexander, should be declared king; and that his person (for he was a poor weak man) should be intrusted to the care of Perdiccas. The body of Alexander, after being embalmed by the Chaldeans, was, according to his own directions, conveyed to the temple of Jupiter Ammon. But two years intervened before the necessary preparations could be gotten ready.

Alexander's character is marked by numberless

blemishes. On due consideration, however, it may perhaps appear to some readers, that his great and good qualities predominated over his vicious and bad.

He was born with the finest natural parts ; and his magnanimity and lofty sentiments were almost without example. He early discovered marks of the greatest generosity ; but he as early gave proofs of an unequalled ambition. He received a perfect education under the most skilful of masters, Aristotle, who took great pains to cultivate his genius ; and he instructed him not only in the fine arts, but in the most sublime sciences. The scholar's progress corresponded with the zeal and skill of his instructor.

While young, he discovered very singular prudence, and found means, during the absence of his father, to pacify some dangerous commotions that had broken out in Macedonia. At the age of twenty years, he subdued his most formidable enemies, namely, all the states of Greece combined against him. In the opinion indeed of some, the first years of his reign were the most glorious of his life. He supported the same character in his expedition against Darius ; which was not undertaken with a youthful rashness, but with all the vast preparations that the greatness of the enterprise required ; magnanimity, prudence, temperance, courage.

To judge how far he possessed every talent of a complete general, it is only necessary to contemplate his passage of the Granicus, his battle at Issus and Arbela, and his siege of Tyre. We shall there perceive his skill at drawing up an army in battle order, his presence of mind in the heat of action, his intrepidity in the midst of danger, and his firmness and constancy under disappointments. His father Philip studied to subdue his enemies by stratagem and circumvention. Alexander practised open force and bravery alone. His behaviour, after the battle of Issus, is perhaps the action of his whole life that did him the most honour ; for, on that occasion he gained a more difficult victory over his own passions than that over the Persian monarch.

His conduct to the wife and daughters of Darius, who found in his very camp an asylum for their honour and virtue, places him in a most amiable point of view, and bespeaks him truly great. It likewise does honour to Alexander, that he was susceptible of the most tender and constant friendship; a character which he invariably maintained to the last period of his life; and he was rewarded by finding several sincere and real friends, a happiness rarely incident to persons of high rank. His familiarity with, and his kindness to, his soldiers, convinced them that they were beloved by their king; and gratitude for that honour, prompted them to exert their utmost efforts to please him, and to obey his commands with the highest ardour. Nothing was wanting to render the glory of Alexander complete, had he known how to set proper bounds to his ambition. But, infatuated by an uninterrupted and dazzling course of prosperity, he soon became entirely different from what he had formerly been.

After the siege of Tyre, we perceive the good qualities of Alexander to be daily degenerating. On seeing him expose his own life, and that of his troops, in a journey through the burning deserts of Lybia, with the absurd view of procuring himself to be acknowledged the son of Jupiter Ammon, we are amazed at his folly and imprudence. We are shocked to see him give himself up in Asia to such immoderate excesses of drinking. By this vice, equally despicable and dangerous, we see him instigated to dip his hands in the blood of a friend who had saved his life. We likewise see his understanding so much affected by his intemperance, that he was not ashamed to vilify the glory of his father, and to undervalue his actions. This was equally vain-glorious and uncandid. For on due consideration we shall perceive, that Philip was not only the sole author of his own power, but likewise of that of his son. He transmitted to him the kingdom of Macedonia enlarged exceedingly on all sides:

he left him master of Greece ; and above all, he put into his hand a powerful army of veteran soldiers, admirably disciplined, and commanded by a great number of brave and experienced officers. Nor can it be disputed that Philip gave the most indubitable proofs of his ability to effect the conquests effected by his son ; while, on the other hand, it is not so clear that Alexander could have performed what his father performed.

But what numberless actions of violence and injustice have we not to arraign him with, after he had subverted the Persian empire by his victory at Arbela and the death of Darius ? Thenceforward he shows himself an unprovoked persecutor of nations who desired only to live in peace. He appears no longer in the light of a conqueror, still less in that of a hero ; he is a downright usurper, a robber, a scourge sent by the almighty Disposer of all things to execute his vengeance on mankind. For his carrying the war into Asia, he had indeed a very specious pretext, namely, to revenge the numberless miseries brought upon the Greeks by the kings of Persia. But what pretence could he allege for spreading ravage and destruction among nations who had never injured him, and to whom the very name of Greece was unknown ; and for putting to the sword all the inhabitants of cities, guilty of no other crime than the defending of their lives and liberties, with the bravery inspired by the most natural of all passions, self-preservation ? But Alexander placed his glory in making himself the terror of mankind ; and his extravagant ambition confined itself neither by rule nor measure. On hearing the philosopher Anaxarchus give it as his opinion, that the universe contained an infinity of worlds, he is said to have wept, because it was impossible for him to conquer any more of them than one. His rashness too deserves to be numbered among his faults. We see him on all occasions exposing his life like a simple volunteer ; advancing the first to the assault, climb-

ing along steep and dangerous precipices, and constantly studying to perform the most hazardous and daring exploits. Such is far from being the glory at which a sovereign ought to aim. He should always bear in mind, that he is responsible for his life to his soldiers and to his subjects.

EMINENT WRITERS, PHILOSOPHERS, ARTISTS, &c.

THIS third age of Greece produced a great number of philosophers. At the head of all these, Socrates deserves to be ranked ; but as we have already spoken of him at great length, we shall say no more of him here, but pass on to others, and begin with

Plato, a native of Athens, and the most famous disciple of Socrates. Plato did not confine himself like his master, to the subject of morals alone, but studied every branch of philosophy. His thirst after knowledge prompted him to travel into Egypt, where he learned from the priests various branches of knowledge generally unknown. His accurate notions about the existence of God, and the immortality of the soul, are generally thought to have been communicated to him in that country. We shall have occasion afterwards to mention his journeys to Syracuse at the request of the younger Dionysius. At last he fixed his constant residence at Athens, where he delivered his lessons in the fine garden called the Academy. Hence his disciples got the name of Academicians.

Among his principal tenets may be reckoned the following ; that there is but one world ; that there is but one God, the author of all things ; that the soul is immortal ; that men ought to resist their passions ; that after this life the good and virtuous shall be rewarded, and the wicked and vicious punished. Plato delivered his doctrines in the form of dialogues. He appears to have possessed a strong imagination. His style is extremely florid and sublime, and is particularly distinguished by a delica-

cy known to the Greeks by the name of Atticism. His works abound with the most lofty sentiments, and with the most useful maxims for the conduct of life, and for the science of government. He declined engaging in the affairs of the republic; preferring the calm unruffled life of a philosopher. He was very highly esteemed for the mildness of his manners; and was so much admired on account of his vast extent of knowledge, and his sublime sentiments, that he was honoured with the name of the

Divine Plato. Even kings desired to be
348. directed by his counsels. He died at eighty years of age. His nephew, Speusippus, succeeded him in his school. But his scholars, after his death, distinguished themselves into two sects; the followers of the one taking the name of Academicians, and continuing to teach in the same place where Plato had taught; and reasoned under that of Peripatetics, who walked and reasoned under the shade of the pleasant groves of the Lyceum; and thence obtained that appellation. Plato deserved likewise to be ranked in the class of rhetoricians, on account of the excellent principles of rhetoric laid down in his dialogues, and especially in the *Georgics*.

Aristotle was a native of Stagira, a city of Macedonia. He came to Athens at the age of seventeen, and studied philosophy under Plato, with such industry and success, that he became the soul of his school. On the birth of Alexander, Philip wrote him, that he intended to make him preceptor to his son. "I account," says Philip, in his letter, "the favour of the gods greater in sending me this son during the life of Aristotle, than in bestowing him upon me at all."

After spending several years on the education of Alexander, he returned to Athens, opened a school in the Lyceum, and became the founder of the Peripatetic sect. His lectures drew together a vast crowd of hearers. He carried to a wonderful de-

gree of perfection the art of dialectic, whereof Zeno was the inventor. But he did not confine himself to matters of philosophy. He gave lessons on rhetoric, and composed a treatise on that subject, which has been justly regarded by the learned of all ages as the most accurate and complete that has ever appeared. It is on this account that Aristotle, as well as his master Plato, is numbered among the rhetoricians.

Aristotle met with the fate of most great men. He attracted the envy of his contemporaries, who accused him of impiety; and one Eurymedon appeared as his prosecutor. To disappoint the malice of his enemies, and to avoid the unhappy fate of Socrates, he fled to the island of Eubœa, where he ended his days. His works, after remaining more than 200 years buried in oblivion, during which time they had passed through various private hands, had suffered much by damp and other accidents, and had been greatly corrupted and obscured by ignorant transcribers, were at length discovered by the famous Sylla at Athens when he sacked that city, and were by him brought to Italy. When generally known, they were justly adopted as the most perfect standard on every topic of which they treated. The surprising diversity of those subjects, the profound erudition, the acuteness, and the singular accuracy with which every point is there handled, sufficiently evince the comprehensive genius of the author. A course of observations and experiments, for many ages, has indeed produced the discovery of various secrets of nature, of which Aristotle seems to have been ignorant, and which no force of genius ever could divine. But in every matter of science, those who are the best acquainted with his philosophy, and with that of the most approved modern philosophers, are struck with amazement at his vast superiority.

Xenocrates succeeded Speusippus in the school of Plato. Being a man of a gloomy austere dispo-

sition, Plato, whose scholar he was, used to advise him to sacrifice to the graces. His contempt of riches is much talked of. He carried it so far, as voluntarily to reduce himself to poverty. Having been sent by the Athenians in quality of deputy to negotiate some matters with Philip king of Macedon, that crafty prince attempted to corrupt him by presents, but found all his endeavours ineffectual. Alexander made the same attempt with the same success. Xenocrates refused a present he offered him of fifty talents; but, apprehensive lest that prince might interpret his refusal as an effect of pride, he accepted of thirty minæ. The Athenians entertained the highest opinion of his integrity; in-somuch, that one day, when he was to have given testimony about a certain affair, the judges dispensed with demanding his oath, satisfying themselves with his simple affirmation. He was so fond of solitude and study, that he seldom appeared abroad. His lectures on virtue were attended with amazing effect. They often reclaimed the Athenian youth from every kind of debauchery.

Diogenes lived in the time of Alexander the Great, and was of the sect of the cynics, founded by Antisthenes, a disciple of Socrates. The philosophers of this sect lived a most rigid life; wearing no other clothes than a cloak; and carrying about with them no other conveniences than a sort of knapsack, a staff, and a kind of two-eared bowl of wood or metal. *Diogenes* distinguished himself more than any other of this sect by his cynical behaviour; which he carried to such an extravagant pitch as to become ridiculous. He walked bare-footed, and lodged in a tub. But under this beggarly equipage, he entertained a more than kingly pride, and a sovereign contempt for all mankind. The reader has already seen his answer to Alexander the Great. He is celebrated for many witty sayings, and for some excellent maxims of morality. But his conduct evinced, that he was at no pains to practise

those precepts himself; for never did man carry impudence in point of morals to a greater pitch. This impudence, his contemptuous airs, and his satirical remarks, were his distinguishing characteristics. Hence came the name of *cynic*, a Greek word derived from the name of *dog*, to denote, that the philosophers of this cast took delight in railing, or rather barking and snarling like dogs, at the rest of mankind.

Zeno was the founder of the sect of stoics. He was originally a disciple of *Crates*, a cynical philosopher. But disgusted at the impudence of that sect, he attached himself to *Xenocrates* and *Polemon*, and established a new sect at Athens, namely that of the stoics, as already observed. This sect derived its name from a gallery in which they taught, called in Greek *stoa*. *Zeno* soon acquired great reputation. He was much esteemed by the Athenians for the purity of his precepts, which he himself practised with the greatest exactness; and for the zeal with which he inculcated the principles of virtue.

Cleanthus, *Chrysippus*, and *Possidonius*, were scholars of *Zeno*. They all valued themselves on their perfect contempt of riches. *Zeno* was the inventor of dialectic, the art that teaches us to deduce certain conclusions from certain principles. The stoics piqued themselves much on their excelling in this art; but their reasoning often degenerated into sophistical arguments.

The stoics maintained, that the sovereign good consisted in living virtuously according to the dictates of conscience. In other words, they placed all happiness in the practice of virtue. Their chief aim was to render themselves insensible to the miseries incident to human life. For that purpose they laboured to convince themselves, that “every thing that happens is for the best;” and thence argued, that our distinctions between good and evil are merely chimerical.—A perfect stoic, therefore, did not regard even pain as an evil. Their philosophy was calculated to render them entirely devoid of

passion and of frailty. But it should seem, that, to reform nature, they meant to extinguish it altogether; for they must have known that passion is constitutionally inherent in man. It must, however, be allowed, that the stoics were, of all the ancient philosophers, the most virtuous both in point of principles and of practice, and that some of the greatest and wisest men of antiquity were formed in their school.

The peripatetics entertained nearly the same opinion with the stoics as to the chief good; but they esteemed riches and health to be good, and poverty and disease to be evil.

Epicurus was founder of the epicurean sect of philosophers. He was a native of a village in Attica, and opened his school in a delightful garden at Athens, where he was attended by a vast concourse of hearers and arrived at a distinguished reputation. None of his many works having been transmitted to us, it is from the poem of *Lucretius* that we learn the system of his philosophy. *Lucretius* may be ranked at the head of those poets, who would have been happier to have been born without genius, than to have perverted their talents to subvert religion and sound reasoning.

Epicurus maintained, that pleasure was the sovereign good. By pleasures, according to *Cicero*, he meant the pleasures of sense, such as the contemplation of beautiful objects, eating and drinking, shows and diversions. *Cicero* thinks, that he did not believe in the existence of gods, although he spoke in very pompous terms of the respect to be paid them. He maintained, that the sovereign evil consisted in pain; to which, although his age was liable, yet he said, that he found sources of happiness even in pain itself. On the other hand, in point of the moral duties of man, he delivered very admirable precepts, and extremely opposite to those we should expect from a philosopher who placed the sovereign good in pleasure. But the most ex-

traordinary circumstance of all is, that he lived a pure and irreproachable life.

Pyrrho, a philosopher of the sect of sceptics, was a native of Ellis in the Peloponnesus, and lived in the time of Alexander. He maintained, that, with respect to the qualities of every subject about which the human mind is conversant, there is ground for affirmation and denial; that, therefore, there can be no certainty; and we must of course never form a positive decided judgment of any thing. Hence this doctrine has obtained the name of Pyrrhonism. From those principles he deduced the most pernicious consequences; that nothing was in itself honourable, shameful, just, or unjust; these distinctions depending entirely on human institution. This was opening a door to every sort of crime. It would therefore have been for the honour and happiness of mankind, that these opinions had gone out of the world with their author. But such is the depravity of the human heart, that even in our days they find abettors and supporters among men of genius and learning.

In this third age of Greece flourished *Menander* the poet, who is regarded as the father of polite comedy. He was perfectly free from the faults of *Aristophanes*, who respected neither decency nor modesty, nor even the gods themselves; and who gratified the malevolence of his audience by scurrilous reflections against the best men in the state. In the judgment of *Quintilian*, *Menander* outshone all those who had applied to comedy before him; his humour being exquisite, graceful, and delicate. From a despair, no doubt, of equalling him, *Terence*, who applied to the same study, satisfied himself with translating, in a manner, the productions of *Menander*, and with presenting them to the Roman people, set off with all the graces and purity of the Latin tongue.

Protogenes, the famous painter, flourished in the time of *Aristotle*, with whom he was connected by the most intimate friendship. He was a native of

Cauna, a city on the sea-coast of Rhodes. His excellency in his profession induced the Athenians to employ him in several pieces of work, which afterwards attracted universal admiration. His masterpiece was his Jalisus the son of Apollo, and a great hunter.

Praxiteles, the celebrated statuary, likewise lived in this age. He wrought principally on marble. His masterpiece was a statue of Cupid, which he gave as a present to the courtesan Phryne, of whom he was very fond. She set it up at Thespia, her native country, whither numbers of the curious repaired to view it.*

Polycletes, another statuary, and a native of Sicyon, was famous for his statues of brass. His masterpiece was a Doriphorus, the name of those who served in the Persian king's guards. This statue was so much admired for the extraordinary justness of its proportions, that it was called the Canon or Rule, and as such was carefully studied by succeeding sculptors.

Apelles, the celebrated painter, was a native of the island of Cos, but resided for the most part at Ephesus. He is placed at the head of all the ancient painters, and is said to have contributed no less to the perfection of painting by his writings on that subject, than by his admirable performances. The particular in which he principally excelled, was the grace, or an easy noble air, tempered with sweetness; but which is more easily felt than expressed. He executed several portraits of Alexander; where-

* This is supposed to be the antique mentioned in De Thou's Memoirs. He tells, that having gone to Italy, when young, with De Foix, they saw at Pavia, in the collection of Isabella D'Este, a statue of a sleeping Cupid executed by M. Angelo; which, after the most attentive consideration, appeared supremely excellent, and filled them with inexpressible admiration. After admiring it for some time, another statue of a Cupid was shown them, still soiled with the earth out of which it had been digged. On comparing this with the former, all present were ashamed of their first judgment, and agreed that the ancient statue seemed to be an animated substance, and that the modern, compared with it, was but a block of marble without expression.

of that which represented him launching the thunder was the most highly finished. His engaging manners even procured him the friendship of the Macedonian hero, who did not disdain to visit him frequently, that he might see him work, and enjoy the pleasure of his conversation. Alexander prohibited any other person than Apelles from presuming to paint him. The singular merit of Apelles exposed him to much envy, and stirred up many enemies against him during his stay at the court of Ptolemy king of Egypt. On returning to Ephesus, he revenged himself upon his detractors by his famous picture of Calumny, which was reckoned one of his capital performances. His Venus rising from the sea was accounted his masterpiece.

Lysippus, the famous statuary, likewise lived in the time of Alexander. He was a native of Sicyon. He said, that Polycletus's *Doriphorus* at first served him instead of a master; but having afterwards consulted the painter *Eupompus*, which of the preceding sculptors was the most worthy of his imitation, he received for answer, "None of them, but Nature herself." *Lysippus* followed the advice, and carried the art of statuary to the summit of perfection. It is well known that Alexander prohibited any other person but *Lysippus* from attempting to make his statue, as he had forbidden any body but Apelles to draw his portrait: for he did not doubt that the singular merit of those artists, as it would immortalize their own names, would bestow additional fame even on his. *Lysippus* is said to have wrought with much ease and quickness, and to have executed more works than any other statuary whatever. His two capital performances were, 1st, The statue of a man rubbing himself after coming out of the bath; which *Agrippa* afterwards caused to be placed before his baths at Rome. 2^{dly}, A statue of Alexander in brass, of exquisite beauty. The emperor *Nero*, from a most depraved taste, resolved to have this last statue gilded.

THE
HISTORY
OF
ANCIENT GREECE.

BOOK IV.

CONTAINING THE HISTORY OF THE FOURTH AGE
OF GREECE.

From the death of Alexander the Great till Greece became a
Roman province, some time after the destruction of Corinth.

THE beautiful days of Greece, so fruitful in great men and in great actions, are now past; and the few traces of ancient virtue that shall still appear, may be compared to bursts of lightning in a dark night, which shine but for a moment, and serve only to make the gloom more conspicuously dismal.

We shall now see the chief officers of Alexander, to the number of ten or twelve, making war on each other for the space of twenty years, to procure an independent establishment in some portion of his vast empire. Sometimes pretended friends, sometimes declared enemies, they embrace now one side, now another, just as interest or caprice inclines them. We shall see Macedonia change its master five or six times. We shall perceive that Alexander, by pushing his conquests to so immense an extent, was the occasion of the utter ruin of his own family, and of the total extirpation of his relations; that murder and destruction were the fruits of his conquests, about which his generals slaughter one another with the most shocking cruelty; and that

the states of Greece were victims of their quarrels. To enter on a detail of the various events resulting from these disputes among Alexander's captains, would be in effect to write the history of all the then known world instead of that of Greece. We shall therefore confine ourselves to the particulars immediately respecting that country, and pass over the rest in silence ; which we do with the greater pleasure, as those other transactions would present little else to the reader than one continued scene of murder and the basest perfidy.

The Greeks still made some efforts for regaining their former independency. But these are only the weak exertions of expiring liberty ; and the princes to whom they apply for protection, instead of delivering them from their miseries, take advantage of their weakness to enslave them the more, and to make them subservient to their own designs. At last the Romans, whose power insensibly swallowed up that of all the other states in this hemisphere, subjected them imperceptibly, proclaiming themselves all the while to be the deliverers of mankind, and that they never made war but to reinstate nations in their natural rights and liberty. But they soon changed their tone, and dictated their pleasure as conquerors and sovereigns. The destruction of Corinth at last convinced the Greeks of the necessity they were under of submitting to that warlike people ; who, under various pretences, totally subdued all the states of Greece, and added the whole of that country to the rest of their great empire.



C H A P. I.

Affairs of Greece, from the death of Alexander the Great to the reduction of Sparta by Antigonus, after the battle of Selasia.

THE generals of Alexander, after much altercation and dispute, at length agreed to divide among them the provinces of his empire in the following

manner. Macedonia, Epirus, and Greece, were assigned to Antipater; Thrace, and the neighbouring provinces, to Lysimachus; Egypt, Arabia, and Libya, to Ptolemy the son of Lagus, whose successors in that government were on that account called the race of the Lagidæ; Lycia, Phrygia, and the provinces of Asia Minor, were given to Antigonus; Caria to Cassander; Lydia to Menander; Little Phrygia to Leonatus; Armenia to Neoptolemus; Cappadocia and Pamphylia, provinces not yet thoroughly conquered, to Eumenes; Syria and Phenicia to Laomedon; the two Medias to Perdiccas and Atropatus; Persia to Peucestes; Babylonia to Archon; Mesopotamia to Arcesilas; Parthia and Hircania to Phrataphernes; Bactriana and Sogdiana to Philip. Higher Asia and the Indies were left to those put in possession of them by Alexander. Seleucus, the son of Antiochus, was made general of the horse; and Cassander, son of Antipater, of the guards.

Of these governors several distinguished themselves by their extraordinary merit; but above all Eumenes, a native of Thrace; obscurely born indeed, but whose magnanimity and elevated sentiments amply supplied that defect, if it may be accounted one. His eminent abilities procured him the esteem, first of Philip, and afterwards of Alexander, with whom he possessed a high degree of credit.

Statira, the widow of Alexander, and daughter of Darius, soon followed her unhappy father to the grave. Her death was brought about by the procurement of Roxana, who suspected her to be with child. Perdiccas was an accomplice in this murder.

The Greek colonies settled by Alexander in high Asia, weary of living at such a distance from their native country, resolved to return home; and uniting to the number of 20,000 men, prepared for their departure, without asking permission of Perdiccas. But intelligence of their resolution coming to the

ears of that governor, he dispatched against them a general called Python ; who having found means to bribe 3000 of them to desert to him, easily defeated the rest ; of whom the greater part were, in consequence of orders from Perdiccas, cut in pieces by the Macedonians.

In the mean time, the news of Alexander's death having reached Greece, occasioned an universal joy among the Athenians, who immediately resolved upon war, and used their utmost endeavours with the rest of the states of Greece to persuade them to enter into a general confederacy for their common liberty. A powerful fleet is immediately fitted out ; all the citizens able to carry arms are inlisted ; and an army under the command of Leosthenes is sent against Antipater. Demosthenes, then in exile at Megara, having employed his eloquence to prevail on the states of Sicyon, Argos, and Corinth, to accede to the confederacy, the Athenians, struck with this instance of his generosity, recall him from banishment ; and on his return march all out of the city to meet him, to welcome him back, and to show him every mark of honour and distinction. It is observable, that Phocion opposed this war. Antipater, informed of these transactions, took the field with no more than 13,000 Macedonians and 600 horse ; and advanced towards Thessaly, a fleet of 110 galleys attending him along the coast. But the army of the Athenians and their allies being more numerous than his, defeated him in the first engagement, and obliged him to retreat.

The Athenians having next year formed the siege of Lamia in Macedonia, both besiegers and besieged behaved at first with great bravery. But Leonatus arriving to the assistance of Antipater, an engagement ensued ; wherein the Greeks, by means of their cavalry, of which the greater part was raised in Thessaly, obtained the victory, slew Leonatus, and obliged the city to capitulate. Antipater however escaped out of Lamia, and put himself at the

head of his troops : but carefully avoided another engagement, till Craterus should come to his assistance with a fresh reinforcement of troops. These arriving soon afterwards, formed, on their junction with those of Antipater, an army of 40,000 foot, 5000 horse, and 3000 bowmen ; while that of the Athenians amounted to no more than 25,000 men and 3500 horse. A battle ensuing, the Greeks were defeated, owing almost entirely to the want of discipline among their soldiers. The allies having applied to Antipater for terms of accommodation, received for answer, that he would treat separately with each of the states. Upon this the negociation was broken off ; and the allies, instead of remaining united, having dispersed, Antipater presented himself with his army before each of their cities separately, and dictated his pleasure to the inhabitants.

The Athenians, thus deserted by their allies, upon hearing that Antipater was advancing against them from Thebes, deputed Phocion to go and meet him. Antipater insisted that the Athenians should submit themselves entirely to his mercy ; and with this hard condition they found themselves obliged to comply. But Antipater afterwards condescended to enter into an alliance with them, on condition of their delivering up to him Demosthenes and Hyperides ; of their restoring the government to its ancient state, when the public employments were conferred on the wealthier sort alone ; of their receiving a garrison of his troops ; and of their repaying him the expences of the war.

After this, hearing that Demosthenes and Hyperides had fled, he dispatched Archias in pursuit of them ; who finding Hyperides in Egina, dragged him from the temple, whither he had betaken himself for sanctuary, and sent him to Antipater, by whom he was put to death. Archias having likewise discovered Demosthenes in the island of Calauria, where he had taken refuge in the temple of Neptune, endeavoured to persuade him to go along

with him to Antipater, by assuring him that he would do him no harm. But Demosthenes, 322. justly distrustful both of the servant of the tyrant, and of the tyrant himself, drank off the poison that he constantly carried about with him, which in a few moments afterwards put a period to his glorious life.

Demosthenes was the prince of orators, as we have already had frequent occasion to observe, and as may be more fully seen from the comparison drawn up by Quintilian between his eloquence and that of Cicero. He was likewise a profound politician, actuated by the warmest zeal for the interest of his country, and the most violent detestation of every thing that savoured of tyranny. Had the Athenians followed his advice, Philip never would have been able to arrive at the sovereignty of Greece.

But it was the most extraordinary circumstance of all in the character of Demosthenes as an orator, that he never made a vain or ostentatious parade of his genius, nor ever indulged himself in any flourish with the sole intention of shining. His constant aim was to engage the attention of his audience to the merits of his cause, and convince their judgments. Some time after his death the Athenians erected a statue of brass to his memory.

The Athenians soon became sensible, that, by subjecting themselves to Antipater, they had assumed a very severe and imperious master. As the virtue of Phocion compelled in a manner the admiration of this new tyrant, several exiled citizens were permitted to return on the intercession of that celebrated Athenian. But a great number of the poorer inhabitants voluntarily abandoned the city. The government, however, of Antipater was exercised with great justice; and public employments were conferred on persons of merit alone. At the same time it is true, that men of factious dispositions, from whom Antipater apprehended disturbance, were excluded from all offices in the state;

a measure, however, that might perhaps redound no less to the happiness of Athens, than to the quiet and security of the tyrant.

Eumenes, in the mean time, was put in possession of Cappadocia. Ptolemy, Craterus, Antipater, and Antigonus fall out, form confederacies against one another, and Craterus perishes in the dispute. Perdiccas dies in an expedition against Egypt. Antipater likewise dies, after naming Polisperchon his successor in the government, in preference to his own son Cassander, who was by no means destitute of merit. This behaviour of Antipater, in choosing, preferably to his own son, Polisperchon, a stranger, but the oldest of all Alexander's generals, and a man of such experience as the nation stood in need of, cannot be too highly commended. But Cassander, provoked at what he called his father's injustice, resolved to form a party against Polisperchon, and engaged in his favour Ptolemy and Antigonus; of whom the latter, having the command of the provinces of Asia Minor, was the most powerful of Alexander's successors. Polisperchon, on the other hand, laboured to strengthen his party; and the better to dispose Greece to assist him, he re-established the states in their ancient independency, and recalled such citizens as were in banishment. But Nicanor, arriving in the mean time at Athens on the part of Cassander, took possession of Pyreus. Soon after, Alexander, the son of Polisperchon, having come thither likewise, under pretence of assisting the inhabitants, but really to make himself master of the place, found the inclinations of the citizens much divided.

The moderation of Phocion proved his ruin. Wishing always to act as a mediator, he made it a rule to behave with candour and with mildness to the enemies of his country. This was at last imputed to him as a crime. He was most unjustly accused of keeping up a treasonable correspondence with Nicanor; and was on that account degraded

from his office of general. Phocion having presented himself before the people, with an intention to convince them of his innocence; they refused to hear him, and condemned him to die. Every person of sense and virtue was shocked at seeing the man, who, by way of distinction, used to be called *the honest man*, treated in so cruel and unworthy a manner. His friends took their last farewell of him in tears. Phocion himself behaved on the occasion with the same tranquillity that had distinguished his most glorious days, and with that confidence which innocence alone inspires. After beg-

317. ging of one of his friends to intreat his son, in his name, to pardon this piece of injustice in the Athenians, he swallowed the hemlock juice.

We shall be the less surprised at this glaring instance of injustice, when we consider, that all power was at that time in the hands of the most base and unworthy members of the state; who being without any person of sense and spirit to direct them, gave themselves up without controul, to dictates of caprice and passion. To the injustice and folly of such tumultuous assemblies as that by which Phocion was condemned, did the most virtuous men of this republic in former times owe their ruin.

Phocion was educated in the school of Plato; and was perhaps one of the most virtuous men that ever lived. Though almost all his life at the head of armies, his love of mediocrity still remained with him, and no man ever carried disinterestedness to a higher pitch. Inflexible in every point that regarded the interests of the commonwealth, as well as his own conduct in life, he constantly preferred the good of the state to all concerns of his own; and in private life, although he was of the mildest and most benevolent temper, yet he never in any particular would depart from the stoical peculiarities in his character, to conform himself to the luxurious manners of the age. His exemplary sobriety preserved him vigorous and healthful to a very advan-

ced age; and when eighty years old, he commanded armies. The temper of his wife, too, was perfectly correspondent to his own. An Ionian lady having made an ostentatious display of her fine clothes and jewels before her, "As for me, (said she) I esteem my husband, who has commanded the Athenian armies these twenty years, as my finest ornament." Phocion was chosen general no fewer than four-and-forty times. But it was a fixed maxim of his, that the justest wars weaken a state, and that peace ought to be the object of every wise government. It was not till some time after his death, that his ungrateful country, ashamed of her treatment of him, erected a statue of brass to his memory, in order as much as possible to wipe away the ignominy of so unjust and so disgraceful a condemnation.

With every virtue that could dignify a private character, Phocion possessed in an eminent degree the most important qualifications of a complete statesman and of a skilful general; united in his person the political abilities of Themistocles, and the military talents of Miltiades; and he might have been as serviceable to his country as those great men, had not faction excluded him from the command in the most critical times, and preferred to him persons who were hardly worthy of being his scholars, either in the science of government or of war.

The Athenians, finding themselves now in a defenceless situation, were obliged to submit to Cassander, to put him in possession of the citadel, and to receive from him a governor, on whom, according to the language of the age, they bestowed the appellation of tyrant. The man advanced by Cassander to this dignity, was Demetrius Phalerius, who was much esteemed at Athens for his eloquence, and who first interfered in the affairs of government about the time that Harpalus had deserted from Alexander.

During their subjection to Cassander, the Athe-

nians enjoyed a state of much tranquillity under the administration of Demetrius, who, so far from abusing his power, behaved with such moderation that they hardly perceived him to be their master. He not only augmented the revenues of the republic, but retrenched in every department, except that of religion, all expences which seemed calculated solely for luxury and ostentation. He remedied the abuses that prevailed in the matter of raising sepulchral monuments, and restrained, as much as possible, extravagance in furniture and in dress ; and the poor citizens profited greatly by his prudence and attention. Demetrius distinguished himself as highly in his philosophical as in his political capacity. All the ancient authors are unanimous in praising his virtue and the wisdom of his administration : and they rank him among the greatest men that Athens ever produced.

Polisperchon, hearing that Cassander had gotten possession of Athens, marched and laid siege to that city ; but the besieged made so brave a resistance, that he was forced to relinquish the enterprise.

Eumenes having been about this time defeated in an engagement by Antigonus, was taken prisoner, and soon after put to death. Of all the officers of Alexander, this was the wisest and most virtuous ; the best commander, the most artful politician. He seems to have been, on the whole, the most accomplished man of his time, and the worthiest of becoming Alexander's successor. But he had the misfortune to lead an army composed of different nations, furnished him by the governors of provinces, each of whom aspired to be commander-in-chief. He remained to the last inviolably attached to the royal family. No consideration whatever could shake his integrity ; and he appeared, upon all occasions, to be actuated by the justest sentiments of honour. But these extraordinary qualities rendered him the more obnoxious to the satraps, who envied the superior accomplishments of so skil-

ful an officer, especially as he owed his advancement not to birth or intrigue, but to his singular merit alone.

Olympias having been, by Polisperchon, recalled into Macedonia, made herself mistress of that kingdom, and put to death Arideus, who had borne the empty title of king for the space of six years. Euridice the wife of Arideus, Nicanor the brother of Cassander, together with a great number of Cassander's other friends, were likewise the victims of the cruelty of that princess. But those cruelties did not long remain unpunished. Cassander having besieged her in Pidno, and obliged her to surrender at discretion, the relations of the persons she had caused to be murdered, demanded vengeance for those murders in the assembly of the Macedonians.

317. She was accordingly condemned and put to death by the hands of her accusers themselves; the soldiers sent for that purpose not daring to lay hands upon her.

Cassander having led his army into Boeotia, was moved with compassion for the Thebans, who, since the destruction of their city by Alexander, wandered about from place to place, without any fixed habitation. Cassander resolved to rebuild their city. Several states of Greece contributed to forward this generous and humane undertaking. The Athenians, in particular, rebuilt a part of the walls; and Thebes soon recovered its former splendour. After this Cassander having marched against Argos, that city surrendered to him without making any resistance; and those in the territory of Messene followed its example.

About this time Demetrius, the son of Antigonus, began to make a figure. Plutarch draws an advantageous character of this prince, and distinguishes him by the title of Poliorcetes, which signifies, *the taker of cities*. He was the handsomest man of his time. His majestic air, tempered by a pleasant affable look, struck the spectators at once with awe

and pleasure. He employed his leisure in giving most magnificent feasts and entertainments. But as soon as business called him to the cabinet or the camp, none exceeded him in diligence and activity, nor better supported fatigue and pain. He behaved with the highest respect to his parents, by whom he was most tenderly beloved.

Seleucus having conquered Nicanor, and reduced under his power Media and Susiana, made a public entry into Babylon. From this period is dated the era of the Seleucidæ, by which the orientals reckoned their chronology, as the christians do by that of Christ. Seleucus rendered himself beloved by his subjects, by the mildness of his government, by his justice, and by his humanity. Demetrius the son of Antigonus attempted in vain to expel him from the province of Babylon. Seleucus, indeed, having been absent in Media, Demetrius attacked and reduced the castles of Babylon; but was soon after obliged to retreat to his father in Asia Minor.

The Macedonians, growing weary of the divisions that prevailed among the generals of Alexander, required that the young king, now about fourteen years old, who was the son of Roxana, and bore the same name with his father, should be set at their head. Cassander, dreading lest that might interfere with his ambitious designs, put to death privately both the young prince and his mother; and next year, in concert with Polisperchon, he dispatched, in like manner, another son of Alexander, called Hercules, then a boy about seventeen years of age, who had been born to that prince by Barsine, the widow of Mnemon the Rhodian. Antigonus, on the other hand, secretly put to death Cleopatra the sister of Alexander the Great, and widow of Alexander king of Epirus. Thus the generals of Alexander had the cruelty to extirpate the family of their sovereign, that they might have no master, and might hold their governments in perfect independence. Ambition stops not at the

most detestable crimes. But the prosperity of those monsters was of short duration ; while, on the contrary, Seleucus and Ptolemy, who acted on principles of justice and clemency, became the founders of lasting empires.

While Athens enjoyed a state of perfect
306. tranquillity under the administration of Demetrius Phalerius, the deputy of Cassander, Demetrius Poliorcetes appeared off Pyreus, and blocked it up with a fleet of 350 ships. The Athenians being taken unprepared, with their harbour unguarded, Demetrius entered the harbour without opposition, and intimated to the Athenians by a herald, that he was come to set them at liberty, and re-establish their ancient form of government. The Athenians thinking it best to submit, sent ambassadors to treat with him, whom he received in the most polite and obliging manner. Demetrius proceeded to lay siege to the fortress of Munichia, took it, dismissed the Macedonian garrison, and razed it to the ground. Then he made his entry into Athens, and re-established the democratical form of government, which had been interrupted for the space of thirteen or fourteen years.

As Demetrius Poliorcetes entertained a high esteem for Demetrius Phalerius, he sent him, at his own request, to Thebes. For though the Athenians had erected 300 statues to his memory, that philosopher was very justly apprehensive of the change which this revolution might produce in the disposition of that fickle people. The Athenians, with a view of making their court to the conqueror condemned their late virtuous governor to death, used every means to render his memory odious, and overturned all the statues they had a little while before erected to his honour. On the other hand, they heaped the most extravagant honours on Demetrius Poliorcetes and his father Antigonus, calling them their kings and tutelary gods, and carrying their pictures in the procession at the feast of

Minerva. What a worthless, unaccountable, and degenerated people ! Demetrius Phalerius took refuge with Cassander ; and after Cassander's death, he put himself under the protection of Ptolemy Soter in Egypt, who was the protector of all men of genius and learning. Demetrius soon gained the friendship of that prince, and employed himself, during his retreat, in the composition of several works on the subject of government.

Demetrius Poliorcetes departed from Athens with a numerous fleet, to make the conquest of Cyprus. Having made good his landing in the island, he immediately advanced against Salamina ; defeated Menelaus who defended that city ; and battered its walls with extraordinary warlike engines, and particularly the helepolis, to which however the besieged found means to set fire in the night. Ptolemy, informed by Menelaus of the danger he ran of losing the island, hastened to its relief with a powerful fleet. But he was totally defeated by Demetrius in a sea-fight. The consequence of this victory was the reduction of Salamina : of which, when Antigonus received intelligence, he was seized with such a transport of joy, that he sent his crown to Demetrius, and gave him in the letter the title of king. The Egyptians, on the other hand, bestowed the same title on Ptolemy.

No man was more active or laborious in war than Demetrius ; who being uncommonly skilful in the mechanic powers, had an extraordinary turn for sieges, and for the construction of engines. His galleys of fifteen benches of oars, and the engine called helepolis, were striking proofs of his mechanical genius.

After gaining the victory just mentioned, 304. Demetrius resolved to besiege Rhodes, the capital of the island of the same name, a very rich trading city, forming by itself a powerful state, firmly attached to Ptolemy. Demetrius sailed against it with a numerous fleet, and an army of

40,000 men. The engines used by him in this siege are much celebrated. The Rhodians took the wisest precautions for making a vigorous resistance. Nothing could exceed the violence of the assaults made on the city by Demetrius, except, perhaps, the efforts of the besieged to sustain those assaults, and to repulse the enemy. The besieged made much use of engines, by which they threw fire-brands and darts. Demetrius, finding his attacks on the side of the harbour ineffectual, attempted it next on the land side, where he made use of an he-lepolis which exceeded in size any that had hitherto appeared. It consisted of nine storeys, each furnished with catapultæ and balistæ; it bore likewise two battering rams of a monstrous size, fortified with iron; which, when moved by the united strength of 1000 men, had a prodigious force. But while he was assaulting the city with this dreadful engine, several transports loaded with provisions arrived to the relief of the Rhodians. Demetrius, after carrying on the siege for the space of a whole year, and performing incredible actions of personal valour, was at last obliged to raise it, and to agree to a treaty with the Rhodians, extremely honourable for the latter. For it was thereby declared, that the republic of Rhodes should remain in possession of all its rights, privileges, and liberties, without being subject to any power whatever.

The celebrated painter Protogenes happening to be at Rhodes during the course of this famous siege, quietly prosecuted his business, without being in the least disturbed by the noise of arms or the alarms of the siege. Upon Demetrius asking him how he came to enjoy such tranquillity? "Because," answered Protogenes, "I knew well that you had declared war against the Rhodians, not against the arts." Demetrius went often to see him when at work. The masterpiece of this painter was, as we have mentioned above, the picture of Jalisus, which even Apelles himself admired; and in which a dog

was represented panting and foaming at the mouth as if after a hard chase. It is reported of Protogenes, that after having long endeavoured to paint the foam issuing from the mouth of the dog, without being able to execute it as he desired; losing patience at last, he suddenly threw the sponge that he made use of for rubbing away what seemed amiss, on the canvas, which exactly produced the effect that the painter desired.

Cassander about this time laid siege to Athens.

Demetrius hastened to the relief of that city
303. with a numerous fleet, and drove Cassander from Attica. On this occasion the Athenians lavished upon him the highest honours and the most extravagant flattery; assigning him for an apartment a quarter of the temple of Minerva; which Demetrius, whose debauches dishonoured his warlike exploits, polluted with every sort of profanation, even erecting in it altars to his courtezans. But not satisfied with that, he obliged the Athenians to furnish him without delay with the sum of 150 talents; which was no sooner delivered to him, than he bestowed it in a present on Damia his favourite courtezan. At this time Demetrius procured himself to be declared commander-in-chief of the Greeks, by an assembly of their states holden at the isthmus of Corinth.

In the mean time, Antigonus aimed at nothing less than to dispossess the other successors of Alexander, namely, Cassander, Lysimachus, Seleucus, and Ptolemy, of their respective governments. But those other governors perceiving his intentions, formed a confederacy against him and his son Demetrius. A great battle was fought in the
302. neighbourhood of Ipsus in Phrygia, where Antigonus was slain, and the confederates obtained a signal victory.

In consequence of this victory, the confederated princes added the dominions of Antigonus to their former possessions; and, after much controversy,

they resolved to divide the whole empire of Alexander in the following manner : Egypt, Libya, Arabia, and Palestine, were assigned to Ptolemy ; Macedonia and Greece to Cassander ; Bithynia and Thrace to Lysimachus ; and Asia, as far as the river Indus, to Seleucus. This last territory, which comprehended all the provinces of the ancient Persian empire, was called *the kingdom of Syria*, because the Seleucidæ, its kings of the race of Seleucus, resided at Antioch, a city of Syria.

In the mean time, Demetrius appeared before Athens, and demanded admittance into that city. But the unfortunate situation of his affairs encouraged the Athenians to refuse to comply with his request. They returned him for answer, that they would receive within their gates no king whatever.

About the same time Cassander died, leaving two sons, who quarrelled about the succession to his kingdom. Demetrius having effected a reconciliation with Seleucus, applied himself to the re-establishment of his affairs. He marched against Athens, full of resentment for the ungrateful treatment he had met with from its inhabitants ; and he blockaded the city so closely that he soon reduced them to the last extremity, and obliged them to open their gates, and to receive him as their conqueror. Having assembled the inhabitants in the theatre, he surrounded it with armed men. But after throwing the Athenians into the most violent terror imaginable, he suddenly assumed an air of affability, and declared that he freely forgave them. From Athens he marched against the Lacedemonians, with an intention to subdue that warlike people ; and coming to an engagement with their king Archidamus, who had marched out to oppose him in the neighbourhood of Mantinea, he gained a great victory. In a second engagement near Sparta, he cut in pieces 200 Spartans. After this, it was not doubted that Sparta, which had never hitherto been in possession of any enemy, should be taken by

Demetrius. But some other affairs suddenly requiring his appearance in another quarter, Sparta escaped once more.

It was about this time that Seleucus built on the banks of the Tigris the city of Seleucia, which afterwards became so famous.

Pyrrhus the renowned king of Epirus, who in the sequel distinguished himself as the best general of his time, began already to appear. He was the son of Eacides king of the Molossi. Having, while yet an infant, narrowly escaped from the hands of the rebels who had dethroned his father, he was carried into Illyrium, and there educated. After being restored to his kingdom, he was again driven out of it by the Molossi, who had taken advantage of his absence to rise in rebellion; and he was obliged to take refuge with Demetrius his brother-in-law, with whom he was present at the battle of Ipsus, where he greatly distinguished himself.

He went afterwards to the court of Ptolemy; where he displayed extraordinary skill in every kind of manly exercises, became a favourite of the whole court by his generous and obliging behaviour and showed that he was possessed of remarkable abilities. He had great command of temper, was mild and accessible, delighted every body by his affability, and in point of military skill, was generally preferred even to Demetrius. But he was of a lively impetuous disposition; and his restless temper and unbounded ambition never would permit him to remain in quiet. Here he took to wife Antigona, the daughter of Bernice, the wife of Ptolemy; and having by the intercession of that princess obtained a fleet and some money from Ptolemy, he with that assistance regained possession of his kingdom. After this he made an alliance with Lysimachus; and attacked Macedonia, then in possession of Demetrius, on the one side, while Lysimachus attacked it on the other. The army of the latter, disgusted by the haughtiness of his deport-

ment, deserted from him, joined Pyrrhus, and proclaimed him king of Macedonia. But he soon lost that kingdom, and was obliged to return into Epirus.

Cineas, a native of Thessaly, who had been a scholar of Demosthenes, and was a man of an excellent understanding, was the favourite and confidant of Pyrrhus. This man frequently represented to Pyrrhus, in the most striking manner, the inutility of his ambitious projects; and proved to his conviction, that it was as much in his power to enjoy, at the time he was arguing with him, the quiet and good cheer which Pyrrhus himself professed to be the end of all his undertakings, as it would be after he should have exposed himself to the numberless toils and dangers that he was continually meditating. But though Pyrrhus was obliged to assent to his opinion, yet he found it impossible to re-
280. strain his turbulent ambition; which, after a variety of other exploits, prompted him to undertake an expedition even into Italy against the Romans, with whom he fought three battles.

After gaining, by the means of his elephants, the first battle, Pyrrhus sent Cineas to Rome with offers of peace, which, by the advice of Appius Claudius, were rejected by the senate. Cineas, on his return, gave his master the most lofty idea of the Roman people, describing the senate as an assembly of so many kings. The Romans, in their turn, sent ambassadors to Pyrrhus, to convince him of his folly in making war upon them, and of the danger in which it might eventually involve him. Pyrrhus made the most tempting offers to Fabricius, who happened to be one of the ambassadors, to engage him to enter into his views: but Fabricius discovered by his answer a greatness of soul infinitely superior to all corruption. "Do you retain your wealth," said he, "and I will preserve my poverty and integrity." Pyrrhus, however, persisted in his practices on Fabricius, and made more tempt-

ing offers still to bring him over to his side. But that generous Roman rejected them all with the same firmness and magnanimity. Next year Fabricius transmitted to Pyrrhus, a letter written by the physician of that prince, wherein he offered to poison the king his master, provided the Romans would reward him suitably for his pains. Pyrrhus, struck with so high an instance of Roman generosity, set all his prisoners at liberty without a ransom, and offered more advantageous terms of peace than before ; to which, however, the Romans would by no means hearken.

A second battle was then fought between Pyrrhus and the Romans near the city of Asculum : where both parties exerted extraordinary efforts of bravery, and the night alone put an end to the engagement. The loss was nearly equal on both sides, but the best troops of Pyrrhus were cut off.

278. About this time happened a famous irruption of the Gauls into the more polished and fruitful countries of the southern parts of Europe. A vast swarm of those barbarians, leaving their native regions of the north, proceeded southwards, and appeared very unexpectedly on the frontiers of Macedonia ; where Ptolemy Ceraunus, who then possessed that kingdom, having ventured to give them battle, was totally defeated and slain. The victorious Gauls, after this success, divided their forces into two parties : one of which took the rout towards Thrace ; while the other, under Brennus, directed their course to Greece. Brennus having made himself master of the pass of Thermopylæ after some opposition, he advanced to Delphos, with an intention to plunder the rich temple of Apollo. But the Greeks, anxious for the preservation of so sacred a place, quickly assembled a powerful army, charged the Gauls with their usual bravery, further heightened on this occasion by all the fury of religious zeal, and obtained a complete victory. Brennus, out of despair for the loss of the

battle, killed himself. Such of the Gauls as remained, endeavoured to retreat by the same road that had conducted them into Greece; but they were mostly destroyed, either by famine or by the sword.

The Syracusans having applied to Pyrrhus for assistance against the Carthaginians, that prince left Italy, passed over to Sicily, and took possession of Syracuse; where, having received money and a fleet from the Syracusans, he fell upon the Carthaginians, and ruined their power in that island. Encouraged by an uninterrupted course of prosperity, Pyrrhus began to meditate the conquest of Africa, intending to make his son Helenus sovereign of Sicily. But his good fortune had greatly altered his temper. He was now grown overbearing and tyrannical; and his sole aim being to procure money to support the expence of his luxury and extravagance, he employed the most oppressive measures for that purpose; bestowed all offices on his own favourites; and, instead of judging according to the laws, was guided by interest and caprice alone. This conduct soon alienated from him the affection of the people; and Pyrrhus perceiving himself to be the object of public hatred, became a downright tyrant, put to death under various pretences the most illustrious citizens, and rendered himself detested by all the Sicilians. Having undertaken another expedition into Italy, at the instigation of the Samnites and Tarentines, he plundered on his way the temple of Prosperine at Locri. But being overtaken by a violent tempest, his superstition was alarmed, and he sent back the riches he had thence abstracted.

Pyrrhus gave battle to the Romans a third time, near Beneventum, and was defeated. But this disaster by no means discouraged him. For it was a distinguishing circumstance in the character of Pyrrhus, that he remained firm and undismayed in the midst of the greatest misfortunes. Though

he had now but a small army remaining, and no money at all to support it, he nevertheless passed over into Macedonia, where Antigonus the son of Demetrius was then reigning, attacked that prince, defeated him, and in a short time reduced all the cities of Macedonia.

While the other states of Greece ignominiously bowed the neck beneath the yoke of Alexander's successors, Sparta alone appeared to be re-animated by the ancient spirit of the country, and by that noble intrepidity which had formerly procured her the pre-eminence over all her neighbours. Cleonymus, the son of Cleomenes king of Sparta, provoked at some part of the behaviour of his fellow-citizens, solicited Pyrrhus to march with an army against Sparta. That prince complied with the invitation; and entering Laconia with an army of 25,000 men, ravaged and plundered the country round. The Lacedemonians sent ambassadors to treat. But Pyrrhus, without coming to the point, amused the ambassadors with flattering speeches and compliments, and advanced that same night to the very gates of Sparta.

Though the Spartans, who expected nothing less, were much surprised at this step, yet they were by no means discouraged, but laboured for the remaining part of that night with the utmost expedition to throw up entrenchments. In this work they were assisted by their wives and young women; who, after completing a third part of the entrenchment by themselves, presented arms to all the young men, and exhorted them to acquit themselves as they ought. Next day Pyrrhus made dispositions for attacking the city; but met with a far more vigorous resistance than he expected. A young Spartan, of a very handsome person, named Acroates, the son of king Areus, distinguished himself particularly on this occasion. All the Spartans indeed fought with the most remarkable bravery; and after a long contest repulsed the troops of Pyrrhus. Next day

the attack was renewed; and the Spartans, instead of failing or being discouraged, seemed rather to be inspired with additional valour. Their women attended them during the whole engagement, supplied them with arms and drink, and carried off the wounded. But this desperate resistance only made Pyrrhus redouble his efforts. At length he was shocked at the dreadful carnage occasioned by his obstinacy, and resolved to retire.

Pyrrhus, solely intent on war, marched, upon the invitation of Aristetas, the head of a faction in Argos, against that city, which was distracted by intestine dissensions. Areus king of Sparta laid an ambuscade for him on his way thither, and cut in pieces his rear guard, together with Ptolemy his son. Pyrrhus, exasperated by the loss of his child to a degree of despair, throws himself into the midst of his enemies, drives his horse against Evalcus the commander of the Lacedemonian cavalry, transfixes him with a javelin, and commits a frightful slaughter among the best troops of the enemy around the body of Evalcus. Pyrrhus on all occasions was terrible in battle, but that day he surpassed himself. In this engagement the Spartans lost the flower of their soldiers.

As soon as Pyrrhus arrived from Argos, he was admitted into the city by Aristetas and his faction. The Argives fled to the citadel, and begged assistance of Antigonus, who lay encamped hard by the city. King Areus having come likewise to the relief of the Argives with a choice body of Spartan soldiers, Pyrrhus resolved to march out and give them battle. But happening to embarrass himself in a narrow lane, where he could neither advance nor retreat, and being at the same time attacked by the enemy, he throws himself into the midst of them, and is wounded by a javelin thrown from the hand of a common soldier. Pyrrhus turned about to strike the soldier; but a poor woman, who was looking at the engagement from the top of a house,

perceiving that it was her own son whom Pyrrhus was going to strike, discharged a large tile at the head of Pyrrhus, who fell mortally wounded from his horse, and a soldier cut off his head. Antigonus soon got possession both of the camp and army of Pyrrhus, but behaved with great generosity to his son Helenus.

Thus fell Pyrrhus, one of the most skilful commanders of his time. Of this we cannot doubt, since Livy informs us, that Hannibal, on being asked by Scipio, Whom he esteemed the best general that had ever lived? made answer, that he accounted Alexander the best, Pyrrhus the second, and himself the third. He added, that no general excelled Pyrrhus in the art of drawing up an army; of choosing the most advantageous ground; and of gaining the esteem and confidence of his soldiers. It is certain, however, that Pyrrhus was not possessed of all the qualifications requisite in a great commander. He committed innumerable blunders, continually exposed his person like a simple volunteer, blindly undertook expeditions without proper examination or reflection, and acted upon no fixed plan. Hence we see him perpetually fluctuating and changing from one project to another, just as his restless ambition inclined him*.

Antigonus, to dissolve an alliance concluded
268. between the Spartans and Athenians, laid siege to Athens, and took it.

The Achean republic, composed of twelve considerable towns in the Peloponnesus, had been subdued like the other states of Greece in the time of Alexander. It had remained subject to the Macedonian power ever since; but had often changed its master of late, having been sometimes under the power of Demetrius, sometimes under that of Cassander, and sometimes under that of Antigonus.

* In the year before Christ 264 the first Punic war began, and continued twenty-two years.

At last they found means, in the time of Pyrrhus, to expel the tyrants imposed upon them by Antigonus; and they formed a strict union under the form of a single republic governed by a general council.

About this time Sicyon groaned under the tyranny of Nicocles. But Aratus, the son of Nicias, one of the principal citizens, though then only twenty years of age, conceived the design of setting his country at liberty. Having concerted the necessary measures with the utmost prudence, he scaled the walls of the city; and after effecting by that means, his entry, he called aloud on the inhabitants to assert their liberty. They immediately obeyed the welcome summons, set fire to the tyrant's palace, and recalled such of their number as were banished. Aratus, to render the liberty he had thus procured to his country more durable, persuaded the Sicyonians to accede to the Achæan league. For though the small republics united in that league were but weak, yet, by the wisdom of their general council, and by their perfect union, they were enabled to maintain their independency.

Aratus, by his virtuous and prudent conduct, acquired still more and more the esteem of his fellow-citizens. He was not, however, a man of a perfect or of an equal character. He was in particular very deficient in military merit. For though at sometimes he acted with great vigour and resolution, yet, the view of danger often rendered him timorous and irresolute. Being chosen a second time general of the Achæans, he recovered from Antigonus the citadel of Corinth, whereof that prince had gotten possession. This was a place of great importance. Being situated on a hill, in the middle of the isthmus, which separated the Peloponnesus from the continent, it commanded the sea and land on both sides, and in a great measure prevented all communication with the Peloponnesus. By these means it gave its possessor the highest influence in the af-

fairs of Greece, and was therefore an object of jealousy among all the neighbouring powers.

Aratus had promised sixty talents to an inhabitant of Corinth, who undertook to conduct him to the citadel, by a small path cut out of the rock on which the fortress was built. But being unable to advance the whole sum immediately, he was obliged to pawn the greatest part of his plate, together with his wife's jewels, for the balance. This was an instance of magnanimity, comparable, in the opinion of Plutarch, to any of the most shining actions of Grecian heroism. For here Aratus not only sacrificed his whole estate to the welfare of his country, but likewise exposed his life to most imminent danger. Aratus resolved to make the attempt in the night, taking along with him 400 soldiers. 243. He succeeded in the enterprise, drove out the enemy, and took possession of the citadel. The Corinthians thereupon joyfully opened their gates to him, acceded likewise, by his persuasion, to the Achæan league, and put a garrison into the citadel. This daring and successful exploit procured Aratus great reputation, and induced the Megareans, together with several other states, and even king Ptolemy himself, to join the Achæan league. The Achæans, sensible that the sole aim of Aratus was their common advantage, that he was a professed enemy of every species of tyranny, and highly desirous of restoring their cities to their ancient liberty, continued him without interruption in the chief military command.

About this time the Romans began to make their power respectable even among the Greeks. They sent an embassy to the Achæans and Ætolians, to persuade them to guarantee a treaty of peace that they had concluded with Teuta the widow of one of the kings of Illyrium. This country was then governed by a parcel of petty princes, who pestered all their neighbours with their piracies; and having lately ventured to meddle with the effects of some

of the Roman citizens, they had provoked that republic to attack queen Teuta, whom the Romans obliged to abandon Illyrium entirely. On account of this important service, the Corinthians passed a public decree, admitting the Romans to the isthmic games; and the Athenians presented them with the freedom of their city.

A set of tyrants having been planted in many of the cities of Greece by the power of the Macedonian princes, Aratus directed his principal attention to the extirpation of that vermin, who oppressed and ruined the respective states in which they had been placed. On this account one of those tyrants, and the most wicked of them all, called Aristippus, who domineered at Argos, employed many schemes to accomplish the destruction of Aratus. This Aristippus lived in continual apprehension, and was constantly busied in contriving precaution, for securing his life. For that purpose he retained a body of armed men to guard his house night and day. He slept in an upper chamber, to which he mounted by a ladder; the only entry being by a trap-door, which was shut when the tyrant entered, and his bed placed above it. It is probable however, that he slept never the sounder for all these precautions; while Aratus, on the contrary, appeared always in public, without arms and without fear, attended by no other guard than the affection of his fellow-citizens. That virtuous republican having at last come to an engagement with Aristippus, gained a complete victory over the tyrant, who was killed in the battle. Aratus next persuaded Lysimachus, tyrant of Megalopolis, voluntarily to resign his sovereignty, and to restore that city to its former liberty.

Agis king of Sparta, though no more than twenty years of age, laboured to bring about a reformation in that city, where luxury and avarice had of a long while acquire da footing, and to enforce the system established by Lycurgus. Such an undertaking required a man of a very different character from

Agis: who, besides his want of years and experience, was of too mild and irresolute a disposition. The youth, however, and the people in general, highly applauded the design. But it was opposed by the rich, who were headed by his colleague Leonidas. The reformation, therefore, took place only in part, Agis himself having set the example, by sharing all his wealth with his fellow-citizens.

While things were in this situation at Sparta, the Achæans being at war with the Ætolians, begged assistance from the Lacedemonians; who sent them an army under the command of Agis. The Lacedemonian auxiliaries joined Aratus at Corinth; but, upon the Achæans declining to come to an engagement with the enemy, Agis returned to Sparta. On arriving at that city, he found the people exasperated and spirited up against him by the machinations of Agesilaus, one of the principal citizens, who accused him of having imposed on the people, by persuading them that an equal division of effects would be brought about.

Leonidas, who had been deposed, and in whose place Cleombrotus his son-in-law had been made king, was recalled and replaced on the throne. Leonidas, highly enraged against Cleombrotus for having usurped his dignity, vented against him the bitterest reproaches, and expelled him the city. Then he applied himself to accomplish the ruin of Agis, who, being decoyed from his asylum, was thrown into prison. Leonidas, having gained over the ephori to his side, brings Agis to trial for attempting to introduce innovations in the government. Agis was condemned to death, without so much as being allowed the privilege of defending himself, and without being tried by his fellow-citizens: and he was afterwards strangled in prison. The people hearing what was passing, were provoked at the injustice of the proceedings against their king, and made an insurrection to save his life. But their zeal served only to hasten the fate of that unfortunate
244. prince; whose mother and grandmother, hav

ing gone to the prison and demanded access to him, were laid hold of and put to death likewise. What accumulated horror ! And what a change in Sparta.

Leonidas having died soon after, his son Cleomenes mounted the throne. This prince, being of an active enterprising disposition, and extremely desirous of glory, beheld with pity the citizens of Sparta abandoned to luxury and indolence, and careless about the public welfare. Perceiving the whole power of the state to be in the hands of the ephori, he resolved to attempt to change the form of government ; and hoping that war should enable him to accomplish his designs, he took occasion, from some acts of hostility committed by Aratus on the territory of the Arcadians, to declare war against the Achæans ; and immediately taking the field with an army, offered the enemy battle. Aratus, dismayed at the boldness of Cleomenes, whom he had hitherto considered as an inexperienced young man, retreated ; and thereby incurred severe reproaches from his own soldiers. Cleomenes, emboldened by his success against Aratus, pushed his advantage, and beat the Achæans in several skirmishes.

Having by these means greatly advanced his authority at Sparta, he no longer hesitated to put his design in execution. But before entering that city, he sent forward privately a body of armed men, who, surprising the ephori while at table, killed four of them. Then Cleomenes assembling the people, representing to them how enormously the ephori had abused their power, acquainted them with his design of reviving the laws of Lycurgus ; and to convince them of the sincerity and uprightness of his intentions, immediately made an equal division of his own wealth, and prevailed on his friends and relations to follow his example. Then he applied himself to restore the laws of Lycurgus, touching the education of the youth, the exercises, and the public tables ; and the citizens cheerfully conformed themselves to this change of life.

At the same time, to show his enemies that these innovations had not diminished the affection entertained for him by his countrymen, he attacked and laid waste the territory of Megalopolis, and carried off a considerable booty.

Besides all this, the plainness and simplicity of his dress, the frugality and sobriety of his table, and the affability of his deportment, showed that he meant to form the citizens by his own example. But he studied, above all, to gain the confidence and affection of his troops; and with success, for they testified great ardour to fight under his command. Availing himself of this favourable disposition in the soldiers, he took the field against the Achæans, gained a great victory over them, and forced them to sue for peace; which Cleomenes consented to grant, on condition of their choosing him commander-in-chief of the forces of the league.

The Achæans seemed disposed to comply with this condition. But Aratus, who had now enjoyed the command three-and-thirty years, regarding it as an affront, resolved to engage Antigonus in the affair. For this purpose he made application to that prince in an indirect manner, by two citizens of Megalopolis; which city being in the neighbourhood of Sparta, was much exposed to the incursions of the enemy. Those two Megalopolitans represented to Antigonus that Cleomenes aspired at the conquest, not only of the Peloponnesus, but of all Greece; that it was the interest of Antigonus to prevent the execution of these ambitious designs; that they had good reason to believe that Aratus would be inclined to co-operate with him in proper measures for that end; and that as a security for the sincerity and attachment of the Achæans, they would put him in possession of the citadel of Corinth. Antigonus, to whom this afforded a fair opportunity of intermeddling in the affairs of Greece, listened with pleasure to the proposals of the Megalopolitans, and promised to assist them, providing the agreement

were approved of by the Achæans; who being accordingly informed of the dispositions of Antigonus, resolved by the persuasion of Aratus to continue the war. Cleomenes having thereupon seized on several cities in the Peloponnesus, the Achæans immediately begged of Antigonus to come with all diligence to their assistance.

That prince obeyed the invitation; advanced to support them with an army of 20,000 foot and 1400 horse; and after several events, of which it would be too tedious to enter into a minute detail, made himself master of Mantinea and Orchomene, and reduced Cleomenes to the necessity of defending Laconia. This did not, however, discourage Cleomenes; who setting at liberty a great number of the Helots, on their paying him a certain sum of money, armed 2000 of them after the Macedonian fashion, and carried by assault the city of Megalopolis after a faint resistance. Then he offered to the Megalopolitans, who had taken refuge with the Messenians, to restore to them their city on condition of their renouncing the Achæan league. But the Megalopolitans rejected the proposal, being resolved to adhere to their engagements, though at the expence of their city and territory. Cleomenes, provoked at their refusal, gave the city up to be plundered, and demolished its walls.

The Achæans at length discovering, that instead of an ally in Antigonus, they had given themselves a master, repented when too late of their conduct. Perceiving, however, that submission was now their safest course, they behaved to Antigonus with the grossest and basest flattery. They even offered sacrifices to him. Aratus no longer possessed any power; nor could he so much as prevent Antigonus from replacing the statues of the tyrants, which he himself had overturned. Thus was Aratus justly punished for his jealousy of Cleomenes. That gallant Spartan, early in the spring, before the Macedonians had left their winter-quarters, made an incursion into the territory of Argos, and laid waste

the country. Hitherto he had had the glory of holding at bay the whole Macedonian power, and of preserving Laconia from invasion. But in the ensuing summer, Antigonus advanced against that country at the head of 28,000 men.

The two armies met in the neighbourhood
223. of Selasia, where Cleomenes had his army very strongly encamped. Antigonus immediately attacked Cleomenes, who had only 20,000 men. The battle began near Olympus, and both parties fought with the greatest obstinacy. But at last the Macedonian phalanx rushing forwards on the Lacedemonians with their spears couched, drove them from their entrenchments. Most of the auxiliary troops fell in this battle; and Plutarch says, that of 6000 Spartans, only 200 remained alive. Antigonus owed his victory in a great measure to the courage of Philopœmen, yet a very young man, who fought at the head of the Achæan cavalry.

Though the loss of this battle threatened Sparta with utter ruin, yet that people supported their defeat with the same constancy and magnanimity that they had displayed in the most flourishing times of their republic. Every individual there appeared to be more affected by the public misfortune than by his own private loss. Wives did not mourn the death of their husbands, nor fathers that of their sons; but, on the contrary, they esteemed them happy in having died in the cause of their country.

Cleomenes, unable to bear the sight of Sparta after this dreadful misfortune, only touched at that city, and immediately afterwards set sail for Egypt. Antagonus, arriving soon after at Sparta, took possession of it as conqueror. But his resentment being satisfied with his victory, and with the flight of Cleomenes, he treated the inhabitants with great kindness. He overturned, however, every thing done by Cleomenes for reviving the institutions of Lycurgus.

This fatal defeat at Selasia utterly ruined the Spartan power, and deprived that people of all pos-

sibility of ever arriving again at their original splendour. Antigonus, after remaining a few days at Sparta, set out for Macedonia, where the barbarians were committing great devastations. But falling into a languishing disorder, he died about two or three years after.

Cleomenes arriving at Alexandria, soon procured by his singular merit the esteem of king Ptolemy, who loaded him with presents, and, by way of consolation, promised to assist him with money and a fleet to regain his throne, and to assert the liberty of his country. Death, however, which soon after carried off that prince, prevented his good intentions towards Cleomenes from taking effect.

About this time there happened at Rhodes 222. a dreadful earthquake, which did immense damage, and threw down the famous Colossus, a brazen statue of a prodigious size. The Rhodians, finding themselves ruined by this disaster, implored the clemency of the neighbouring princes. Hiero and Gelo, kings of Sicily, and Ptolemy king of Egypt, sent them very large sums of money, and behaved to them with the noblest humanity. Antigonus, Seleucus, and Mithridates, followed their example; and Rhodes, by the bounty of those princes, was soon restored to a more opulent and flourishing condition than it had ever enjoyed before.



C H A P. II.

Affairs of Greece, from the capture of Sparta by Antigonus, till the whole country became a Roman province.

THE Ætolians, the most unpolished people of Greece, who were inured to all the hardships of war, and lived by robbery and plunder, had lately begun to make a distinguished figure in that country. Taking advantage of the exhausted situation of the Peloponnesians, who were greatly reduced by the late war, and since the battle of Selasia were desirous of peace and quiet, they made an irruption into

the territory of Messene, and committed great ravage and devastation. Upon this Aratus marched against them with the Achæans. But having been defeated near Caphia, that general became more timorous and irresolute than ever, and the Achæans were obliged to apply for assistance to Philip the young king of Macedon, who had succeeded to that kingdom on the death of his father Antigonus.

About this time, too, discord prevailed at Sparta, where one of the ephori was killed in an insurrection of the inhabitants, because he and his colleagues favoured the cause of Philip. That prince, upon the solicitation of several cities who complained to him of being harassed by the Ætolians, having come to Corinth, where a general assembly of the Achæans was then holden, procured war to be declared against the Ætolians. This happened during the siege of Saguntum by the famous Hannibal, who passed from thence into Italy.

Cleomenes in the mean time ended his days miserably in Egypt. Having been rendered suspected to the new king, who attended to nothing but his pleasures, he was thrown into prison. His friends found means to deliver him from his confinement, set him at their head, and attempted to excite a rebellion in the city, by inviting the people to assert their liberty. But no person daring to join them, they were seized with despair; and, to avoid the shame of a disgraceful public punishment, agreed to kill one another. When the king was informed of what had passed, he most inhumanly ordered the mother and children of Cleomenes to be put to death; and the body of that brave but unfortunate prince to be affixed to a cross.

Philip having made preparations for attacking the Ætolians, engaged several of the princes of Illyrium to assist him, and, among the rest, Demetrius of Pharus, a bold and enterprising, but a rash man, who, on being expelled his own territories by the Romans, had chosen the court of Ptolemy for an

asylum. The Achæans likewise applied for assistance to their allies; but the people of Acarnania and Epirus alone granted them the succours demanded. Philip, setting out from Macedonia with an army of 15,000 men, entered Ætolia, and reduced a great number of towns. On the other hand, Dorimachus the Ætolian general ravaged the country of Epirus. Philip being joined at Caphia by a body of troops under Aratus the younger, formed in conjunction with him the siege of Psophis, a city of Arcadia; and having in the height of winter made himself master of the fort, which by its situation was accounted impregnable, he delivered it to the Achæans, to whom it was a place of very great importance. After this Philip proceeded to lay waste the country of Elis.

The Achæans in the mean time were very harshly used by Apelles, who having been formerly Philip's tutor, was in great favour with that prince. This man intended to make the Achæans altogether dependent on the pleasure of Philip's ministers. But on the representations of Aratus, Philip commanded him to do no business which regarded that people, except in concert with their general. Hitherto Philip had displayed much mildness and affability, and a skill in the art of war much above his years. But we shall soon see him acting in a very different manner.

Sparta was at this time distracted by intestine commotions, and a prey to a set of petty tyrants, who contended with one another for the throne. One of those tyrants, named Chilo, having entered the city at the head of a body of armed men, under pretence of his title to the throne being preferable to that of Lycurgus, put to death all the ephori.

Apelles, intent on prosecuting his designs against the Achæans, and finding continual opposition from Aratus, resolved to rid himself of that patriot. To effect his ruin, he practised so many arts on Philip, that at last he made him suspicious of Aratus. Phi-

lip, however, was soon sensible of the want of the prudent counsel of that great man; and therefore having given him an opportunity of justifying himself, he restored him to his confidence and friendship. Apelles thereupon resumed his practices; racked his brain to invent calumnies against Aratus; and even took secret measures to disappoint the enterprises of Philip, in order to bring his enemy into disgrace. That prince having at present the Ætolians, Lacedemonians, and Eleans, on his hands all at once, resolved to attack them by sea, to oblige them to divide their forces. Having made a descent on Cephalaria, an island in the Ionian sea, he besieged the city of Palea. But by the fault of Leontius, a man devoted to Apelles, he was obliged to raise the siege. Apelles and Leontius, who acted in concert, were continually suggesting schemes to Philip, which but for the prudent counsels of Aratus, must have infallibly ruined his affairs.

Philip, having returned to the continent, secretly marched by an unfrequented way through rocks towards Thermæ, a considerable city, where most of the riches of the Ætolians were deposited, and where they kept their fairs. Arriving before the city, he immediately attacked it, and entering it with his army, found an immense booty. The Macedonians, calling to mind the outrageous behaviour of the Ætolians at Donona, resolved to take their revenge here. They set fire therefore to their temple, and destroyed a great number of their statues. Philip concluded this expedition by a very skilful retreat; which he effected without any disorder, and with very little loss. Polybius informs us that Aratus was the contriver and the conductor of this enterprise. That great man was singular in this respect, that he could form an extraordinary plan of this kind, and execute it more skilfully in concert with another general, than by himself alone. The whole army bestowed the highest applause on the

conduct of this expedition, except Leontius alone, the confidant of Apelles, and one of Philip's principal officers; who was so heartily vexed at its success, that he could not restrain himself from breaking out into the most insolent reproaches against Aratus.

Philip, departing from Leucades, arrived at Corinth, disembarked his troops, and proceeded by the way of Argos to Tegeum in Laconia. The Lacedemonians were much surprised on hearing that this young prince, whom they imagined to be at a great distance, was in the heart of their country. Philip indeed usually accomplished his marches with such diligence that the Greeks were amazed at it. After ravaging Laconia, Philip returned to Corinth. In the mean time, Apelles, and his son, having, by their insolent conduct, quite exhausted the patience of that prince, were, by his orders, apprehended and put to death.*

The Ætolians, greatly exhausted by the war, grew at last very desirous of peace. On the other hand, Philip not only prevailed on the allies to continue the war, but, after making a journey into Macedonia, returned himself into Greece, and laid siege to Thebes in Phthiotis, which he took after a vigorous resistance. At last, however, upon the earnest solicitations of the people of Chios, Rhodes, and Byzantium, to grant peace to the Ætolians, he marched with his army to Naupactus, where he entered into a conference with the Ætolian deputies, and at last concluded peace with them, on condition that

217. each party should retain possession of the places in their hands. In this year happened the famous battle between Hannibal and the Romans, near the lake Thrasimene, where the latter were totally routed with great slaughter.

The temper of Philip, in the mean time, appeared to be greatly altered. He gave himself up to

* In the year 218 before Christ the second punic war began, and continued seventeen years.

every sort of debauchery; treated the cities and states in alliance with him with unsupportable haughtiness; and after receiving the check at Apollonia from the Romans, he seemed determined to vent his resentment for that defeat on his confederates, by ravaging the country of Messene. Aratus having remonstrated pretty smartly against this extraordinary conduct, was from that moment regarded by Philip as an impertinent censor; and was basely poisoned by the procurement of that prince, who by this time was hardened in cruelty, and hesitated at no crime, however base or detestable. Such was the end of this illustrious patriot, and such the reward received by him from Philip for the many important services he had rendered him. The Achæans and Sicyonians contended for the honour of raising a tomb to his memory;

but the latter prevailed, on account of his being a native of their city. His funeral was celebrated with the highest magnificence, and the Sicyonians even offered sacrifices at his tomb, as the saviour of their city, and the restorer of the Achæan republic.

Philip next seized on the city of Issus belonging to the Illyrians, and took by stratagem its citadel, which was thought impregnable. The Romans, whose affairs began now to wear a better aspect by the reduction of Syracuse and Capua, taking umbrage at the growing power of Philip, formed the scheme of stirring up against him of new the Ætolians, then accounted the most powerful people of Greece. For that purpose, Valerius Levinus having been dispatched in the quality of ambassador to the Ætolians, exhorted them by a long oration, to enter into alliance with the Romans, whose power he highly extolled. His advice being seconded, and his arguments enforced, by Scopas, one of their chiefs, the treaty was agreed to. Then the Ætolians invited several other states, and particularly the Spartans, to accede to this alliance; but they were

zealously opposed by the Acarninians, who, having declared for Philip, used their utmost endeavours to prevent the Spartans from embracing the confederacy. These representations, however, were ineffectual.

Sparta was at this time distracted by two factions. That of Machanidas having prevailed, and made him master of the city, he declared against Philip, and attacked the Achæans, who thereupon implored the protection of that prince. Philip came to their assistance, and defeated in two engagements the Ætolians, who were supported by king Attalus. But Ptolemy king of Egypt, the Rhodians, and Athenians, apprehensive lest Philip should make a conquest of all Greece, sent ambassadors, earnestly desiring him to make peace with the Ætolians. This produced a conference to deliberate on the terms of peace. But the Ætolians insisting on conditions more agreeable to the situation of conquerors than of the conquered, Philip called on the ambassadors present to bear witness, that the Ætolians themselves had frustrated their good intentions. The conference was thereupon broken off.

A few days after, Philip, being joined by the Achæans, advanced towards the city of Elis, where the Ætolians had a garrison, and laid waste the neighbouring country, to provoke the enemy to come to an engagement. His operations had the desired effect. The enemy, among whom were 4000 Romans, commanded by the proconsul Sulpicius, attacked him; and the battle was very bravely and obstinately fought. Here Philopœmen, who led the Achæan cavalry, struck dead with his lance the commander of the Ætolian cavalry, by whom he had been attacked. Philip, seeing his army giving ground, threw himself into the midst of the Roman infantry. By this rash action he occasioned a dreadful carnage; and it was with the utmost difficulty that the Macedonians disengaged and saved their king. Philip, after laying waste the

country, and carrying off a great booty, was obliged to march into Macedonia to protect it against the barbarians, who had lately made a desperate incursion into that kingdom.

Next year, Sulpicius and king Attalus joining at Lemnos, advanced with their combined fleet towards Eubœa, laid siege to Orea, and took it by the treachery of the commanding officer. Intending next to attack Chalcis, they proceeded to that place; but thinking it too well fortified, they desisted from that undertaking. Besides its strong situation on the land-side, that city derived great security from its lying on the famous strait of Euripus, where the waves are always violently agitated, sometimes from one quarter, sometimes from another, occasioned by an irregular current which renders the bay extremely unsafe for shipping. Then Attalus laid siege to Opontum; and, in spite of the great expedition made by Philip to relieve it, took it before his arrival.

In the mean time Machanidas, tyrant of Lacedemon, having levied a considerable army, formed a scheme for making himself master of all the Peloponnesus; and advanced into the territory of Mantinea. The allies, too, were ready to take the field; and Philopœmen being chosen general of the Achæans, assembled their troops, and, after exhorting them to second his zeal by their obedience, ardour, and courage, led them on to action.

This celebrated hero is commonly called the last of the Greeks, because it is observed, that after him Greece produced no leading man worthy of her former glory. As he will make a considerable figure in the sequel, it may not be improper here briefly to lay before the reader the most distinguished particulars of his character. Philopœmen was a native of Megalopolis, a city of Arcadia. He had received an excellent education, having been carefully instructed in the philosophy of Arcesilaus, chiefly calculated to inspire men with a spirit of patriotism,

and to prepare them for state employments. Philopoemen had early proposed Epaminondas for his model. From his infancy he showed a strong propensity for war, discovering a peculiar fondness for men distinguished by their military exploits, and for all warlike exercises. As soon as he was able to bear arms, he entered himself among the troops usually sent into Laconia to pillage. During the intervals of leisure, he applied himself to the exercises proper for strengthening the body, such as hunting and agriculture, often holding the plough with his own hands. For, in those times, the most polite nations set the highest value on tillage, and the greatest men employed themselves in the manual labour requisite in husbandry.

Philopoemen took great delight likewise in the study of philosophy, and in perusing the poems of Homer and the life of Alexander, which furnished him with the most animating lessons of bravery. He applied himself particularly to the study of tactics, or the art of drawing up an army in battle order; and he often amused himself with putting his precepts in practice on all the varieties of ground through which he happened to pass with his troops. When Cleomenes king of Sparta attacked Megalopolis, Philopoemen signalized his courage very highly in the defence of that his native country. He likewise distinguished himself at the battle of Sclasia. After that he went to Crete, an island then abounding with men skilful in the art of war; and having there completed his education in the military art, he returned into his native country, and was soon after chosen general of the Achæan cavalry.

As soon as he received the command, he applied himself to restore a strict discipline among the soldiers, employing for that purpose earnest remonstrances, and, when these failed, severe chastisement. He accustomed the young men to all the exercises of war; rendered them expert at the necessary military evolutions; and, by distributing prizes among those

who made the greatest proficiency, he kept up among them a spirit of diligence and emulation. At the battle of Elis, mentioned above, he gave a signal proof both of his valour and military skill. Aratus had raised the Achæan republic to that pitch of power at which it then stood. Philopœmen was destined to make them soldiers. He introduced great alterations in the armour used by the troops, which he made heavier than it was before. He taught them a new method of fighting; and accustomed them to close engagements.

He considerably restrained the luxury and expensive turn of his fellow-citizens, in point of equipages and dress. But finding it impossible to reform them altogether, he endeavoured to direct their taste to the objects most worthy of men generally exposed to war, namely, to the purchase of fine horses, elegant arms, helmets adorned with beautiful feathers, and embroidered coats of mail; hoping, by these means, to heighten their valour and love of arms. In this Cæsar followed his example. As for himself, he carried his simplicity, in point of dress, so far, that he appeared to be nothing less than the general of an army. Plutarch tells us, that Philopœmen happening one day to arrive alone at the house of a friend, by whom he had been invited to dinner, the mistress of the house, though she knew of his coming, was so far from imagining that a person in his dress was the general of the Achæans, that she mistook him for a servant, and begged the favour of him to assist in doing some affairs in the kitchen, because her husband was from home. Philopœmen very readily granted her request; and, laying aside his cloak, fell to cleaving wood. The husband arriving in the mean time, cried out in amazement, "How, my lord Philopœmen, what means this?" "I am only paying (answered he) the penalty for my poor appearance."

Philopœmen, after visiting the cities, levying troops, and making the necessary preparations for

war, assembled his army at Mantinea, and gave battle to Machanidas. The charge was extremely violent; and the fate of the battle remained long doubtful. Both parties fought hand to hand with great obstinacy. The right wing of the Achæan army at last giving way, Machanidas pushed his advantage. While he was intent, however, on pursuing those that fled, Philopœmen skilfully took possession of the post relinquished by Machanidas, gave a different turn to the engagement, charged the enemy on their return from the pursuit, and put them to flight. Perceiving, at the same time, Machanidas jumping a ditch, with an intention to make his escape, he aimed his javelin at him, and struck him dead in the ditch. The conquerors, after cutting off his head, pursued the remainder of his army all the way to the city of Tegeum, which they took by assault. In this battle the loss of the Lacedemonians amounted to more than 4000 men, while that of the Achæans was very inconsiderable. The latter, sensible that they owed this victory entirely to the skill of their general, erected a statue of brass to his honour.

At the Nemæan games, which was celebrated soon after, Philopœmen happening to enter the theatre, followed by the young men who composed his phalanx, just as the musician Pylades was singing to his lyre the following lines of an old poet,

“ The palm of liberty for Greece I won,”

the audience immediately looked at Philopœmen, and gave a great shout.

Sparta, in the mean time, groaned beneath the yoke of a more cruel tyrant still than Machanidas, namely, Nabis; who, besides the other vices common to all tyrants, was actuated by a violent spirit of avarice, which prompted him to torture and to banish the richer sort of citizens, that he might seize upon their wealth. To maintain himself in his tyranny, he took into his pay a large body of foreign soldiers, capable of every sort of mischief; by whose

help he put to death all those whom he suspected to be his enemies.

Nabis having received from Philip king of Macedon the city of Argos, in pledge for some money wherewith he had supplied that prince, there practised the most shocking cruelty. Having invented a machine in the form of a statue resembling his wife, the breast, arms, and hands of which were stuck full of pegs of iron, and covered with magnificent garments, when any person refused him money, he used to tell him, that though he himself was unable to persuade him to comply with his request, he hoped his wife Apega might have more influence with him. Being accordingly introduced to the pretended Apega, Nabis took her by the hand, and brought her up to the man, whom she immediately embraced very violently. The man finding himself all over pierced with the pegs of iron, uttered the most frightful shrieks; and to procure deliverance from such exquisite torture, readily granted whatever Nabis insisted upon.

The Ætolians finding themselves neglected by the Romans, who were then totally employed by a much more important war, made their peace with Philip; and the people of Epirus having followed their example, tranquillity was for a time restored to the allies.

Philip, having soon after declared war against the Rhodians and king Attalus, laid siege to Pergamus, the capital city of the dominions of Attalus. But failing in his attempt, he vented his resentment, by burning the temples, and breaking to pieces the statues that came in his way. After this he was defeated by Attalus and the Rhodians, near the island of Chios. Growing daily more and more hardened against misfortunes, he prosecuted the war with more fury and cruelty than before. Having taken Cias, a city of Bithynia, he made slaves of most of the inhabitants, and put to death the rest, after torturing them in the most dreadful manner.

The cities of Thrace and the Chersonesus there-upon surrendered without making any resistance.

Abydos, a city situated on the narrowest part of the Hellespont, called in modern times the strait of the Dardanelles, resolved to stand a siege. Philip accordingly laid siege to it in form ; but was at first vigorously repulsed by the inhabitants. Finding his efforts from the sea ineffectual, he changed his position, and attacked it by land. The besieged, finding that the Macedonians had sapped the wall, and were pushing forward their mines very fast, sent to treat with Philip about a surrender. But as he insisted on their surrendering at discretion, they resolved rather to die sword in hand ; and, with that view, chose out fifty of the oldest citizens, to whom they gave orders, that as soon as the Macedonians entered the town, they should, in the first place, murder all their women and children in the temple of Diana ; then set fire to certain galleries containing the public effects ; and, lastly, throw all their gold and silver into the sea. The fifty citizens having bound themselves to the performance of these particulars by the most solemn oaths, the rest of the men proceeded to the breach, where they fought with the most desperate bravery till the night put an end to the slaughter. Next day two of the old citizens, who had sworn to the performance of the particulars above mentioned, shocked at the idea of so dreadful a duty, chose rather to betray the city to Philip ; who, rushing in, beheld with horror the inhabitants cutting the throats of their wives and children ; for the members of each family mutually killed one another.

Philip, whose turbulent disposition did not permit him to remain a moment quiet, entered Attica, committed great devastations, and thereby obliged the Athenians to complain at Rome. The Romans had long been displeased with the behaviour of Philip ; and desired nothing more earnestly than a plausible pretence for coming to an open rupture

with him. The senate, therefore, dispatched Valerius Levinus with a fleet to Macedonia, that he might be at hand to support their allies : and soon after the departure of Levinus, they made a solemn declaration of war against Philip. In the mean time the Macedonians marched towards Athens, with an intention to besiege that city ; but found the Athenians in battle array without the walls. The Macedonians immediately attacked them very vigorously, and drove them into the city. But not thinking it advisable to enter the city along with them, they wrecked their resentment on the country around, which they laid waste with fire and sword.

About this time the Ætolians hesitated whether they ought to declare for Philip or for the Romans. But the former having been soon after defeated in an engagement by the latter, they immediately took part with the Romans.

In the mean time a Roman fleet, joined by that of king Attalus, sailed towards Athens, and entered Pyreus. The Athenians were so exceedingly elevated at this event, which relieved them from the dread of the Macedonians, that they overturned the statues erected by them to Philip a little while before, and abolished the sacrifices they had established in honour of that prince.—So easily did this fickle people pass from one extreme to another.

The Ætolians having declared in favour of the Romans, Philip had an interview with the Roman proconsul Flaminius. But as they could come to no agreement, Philip prepared for war. Nabis still continued his tyranny at Argos, stripping the wealthy of their money, and torturing those who were suspected to have concealed any of their effects. Having intimated to Flaminius and Attalus that he was master of Argos, and desirous of entering into an alliance with the Romans, he was accordingly received as an ally. Flaminius and Attalus then proceeding to Thebes, persuaded the Bœotians to join the confederacy likewise. King Attalus died

shortly after at Pergamus. The vast riches of this prince are much celebrated in history; and great praises are bestowed on him for the excellent purposes to which he applied his wealth, as well as for the singular justice exercised by him towards his subjects. In a word, this king is represented as a perfect model of a good sovereign.

King Philip and Quintius (surnamed Flamin-
197. ius) came at last to an engagement in

Thessaly, near certain mountains called Cyncephalæ, the army of each amounting to about 25,000 men. Here the Romans gained a complete victory over Philip, who lost 13,000 men in the battle, of whom 8000 were killed and the rest made prisoners; while the loss of the Romans was no more than 7000. In this engagement, the unevenness of the ground prevented the Macedonian phalanx from acting with its usual advantage. The Ætolian cavalry contributed greatly to the obtaining of the victory. By sustaining the impetuous charge of the Macedonians, they prevented the Romans from being pushed into the open valley, where the phalanx could have acted with greater vigour. After this defeat Philip sued for peace, referring the terms entirely to the pleasure of the Roman senate. Till that should be known, Quintius granted a truce for four months to Philip, on receiving from him 400 talents of money, and his son Demetrius as an hostage.

Ten commissioners, named by the senate for settling the terms of peace with Philip, arriving at length in Greece, prescribed to him the following conditions: That all the Greek cities, both in Europe and in Asia, should be declared free, and be permitted to govern themselves by their own laws: That Philip should withdraw all his garrisons from the Greek cities at present under his power; should deliver up to the Romans all prisoners and deserters; should pay them 1000 talents of money at certain terms; and that his son Demetrius should be

sent an hostage to Rome. Thus ended the Macedonian war.

As the Greeks were ignorant of the import of the terms of peace granted to Philip, and talked very differently about them, Quintius resolved to reserve the publication of the most important article, respecting their liberty, till the Isthmian games, which were on the point of being celebrated, and at which an infinite number of spectators, from all the different states, would be assembled. In the instant, therefore, that the whole spectators were drawn up in the stadium to see the games, a herald appeared, and, proclaiming silence, read aloud a proclamation to the following purpose ; “ The senate and people of Rome, and T. Quintius their general, having conquered Philip and the Macedonians, deliver from all garrisons and impositions, the Corinthians, Locrians, Phoceans, Eubœans, Achæans, Magnesians, Thessalians, and Perhebian ; declare these states free, and to be subject only to their own laws and usages.”

The spectators were seized with such an excess of joy on hearing this decree, that, doubting whether their senses had not deceived them, they desired the herald to read the proclamation again, that they might be certain about its real meaning. The decree being accordingly read a second time, was listened to with the most profound silence ; and when the reading was finished, nothing was to be heard but the most violent shouts of joy and applause.

As soon as the games were concluded, the whole assembly, regarding the Roman general as their deliverer, ran about to thank him, endeavouring to kiss his hands, or to cover him with garlands of flowers. Quintius tasted in that day the purest and highest pleasure which the mind of man can enjoy ; and pleasure far superior to any that can be attained by the most magnificent warlike triumph ; because it proceeded from an action of goodness, humanity, justice ; from the consciousness of confer-

ring on men the most real happiness whereof they are in this life susceptible. The different states, unable to restrain the sentiments of gratitude that glowed within their breasts, exclaimed to one another, "What a wonderful nation this! which, at its own expence and hazard, undertakes wars to assert the liberty of the rest of mankind; and that not of neighbouring nations only, or those situated on the same continent, but, that injustice may prevail in no quarter of the world, and that liberty may be every where established, they cross the seas, penetrate into the remotest regions, and, at one word, restore liberty to all the cities of Greece and Asia."

Quintius caused the same decree to be again proclaimed at the Nemæan games: and afterwards made a tour through the principal cities, every where reforming, by the wisest regulations, abuses in the government and courts of justice; recalling such citizens as lived in banishment, and putting an end to all intestine factions and divisions. This conduct served not only to raise very high the glory of the Romans, but contributed greatly to the increase of their influence. The nations around, seeing the excellent purposes to which they applied their power, vied with one another in testifying their confidence in the equity and good faith of that people, and even desired to receive magistrates from them, under the name of prætors. It is proper here to remark, that the Ætolians, naturally a restless nation, were now, while all their neighbours gratefully enjoyed the fruits of peace, the only people who showed any discontent against the Romans, boasting that they could have subdued Philip without the assistance of the Romans.

The Romans, unwilling that Argos alone should groan under the oppression of Nabis tyrant of Sparta, while the other states lived in perfect liberty, gave orders to Quintius to declare war against Nabis. That general accordingly, after declaring war,

marched directly to Sparta, which Nabis had strongly fortified, and where he had shut himself up with 16,000 men, after putting to death all the principal citizens, whom he suspected of disaffection. Nabis making a sally with his foreign troops upon the camp of Quintius, which was pitched on the banks of the Eurotas, at first created some disorder among the Romans. But the Romans, quickly rallying, beat the enemy back into the town. Next day Nabis attacked the Romans again; but after a very obstinate engagement, his men were put to flight with great slaughter. The brother of the Roman general having in the mean time taken possession of Githium, Nabis, very uneasy at the loss of that place, which was of great importance to him, demanded a conference with Quintius. But they could come to no agreement. In a second conference, Nabis consented to relinquish Argos, and to deliver up such of the Romans as he had made prisoners. But Quintius insisting that he should likewise deliver up all prisoners and deserters from the maritime cities under the Roman power, that he should pay 100 talents of silver, and give his son as hostage for his future good behaviour, Nabis refused to agree to peace on these terms. Quintius thereupon calling in all his detachments, prosecuted the siege most vigorously, vesting it on all sides with an army of 50,000 men. As Sparta was fortified with a wall on the most accessible places only, Nabis found himself under very great embarrassment; for being pushed on all sides, he knew not to what quarter he ought to send assistance. The Lacedemonians for some time sustained the efforts of the Romans; but when the foremost ranks had penetrated into the large streets, unable to keep their ground any longer, they were obliged to give way. Nabis, to avoid the imminent danger, ordered the houses next the wall to be set on fire. The Roman soldiers, who had got into the middle of the city, terrified by the

flames, hastened to join the main body of their army; by which means Quintius, after being in a manner master of the city, was obliged to sound the retreat. But the attack having been renewed next day, Nabis applied once more for peace; and was obliged to accept of the conditions which he had formerly refused. After concluding this peace, Quintius dismissed Eumenes king of Pergamus, who had assisted him at the siege; and then set out for Argos, where he was present at the Nemæan games, and distributed the prizes to the victors. His presence in their city gave the highest joy to the Argives.

The Achæans, in the mean time, and the Ætolians, grumbled much at the peace concluded with Nabis; being dissatisfied that such a tyrant should be permitted to remain in Greece. Quintius, after spending the winter in visiting the chief towns of Greece, and every where re-establishing justice and good order, the real blessings of peace, went to Corinth, where, calling together deputies from all the states, he explained to them what the Roman people had done for the liberty of Greece, and told them, that peace had been granted to Nabis solely from their earnest desire to preserve Sparta from utter ruin, which must have been the inevitable consequence of driving him to extremity. Then having exhorted them to live in union with one another, he embarked for Italy, and entered Rome in triumph.

The Ætolians, the only people of Greece who harboured secret malice against the Romans, were now very industrious in stirring up enemies against them. For this purpose they applied to Nabis, who being but too well disposed to follow their seditious counsel, found means to bring over to his side the principal inhabitants in the maritime towns, of which the Romans had obliged him to relinquish the possession, prevailed on several of them to revolt, and laid siege to Gitium. The Romans, hearing that Nabis had broken the peace, immediately dispatched the prætor Acilius with a fleet to Greece,

The Achæans hating Nabis, resolved to oppose him, and made Philopœmen their general, who at first was defeated in a battle at sea, but quickly repaired his loss. Attacking the tyrant near Sparta, he cut in pieces the greatest part of his army, gained a complete victory, and besieged him in that city. The Ætolians about this time sent an embassy to Antiochus king of Syria, to persuade him to undertake an expedition into Greece. The Romans, getting notice of the practices of the Ætolians, desired the Athenians to put them in mind of the alliance which they had lately entered into. But the Ætolians, listening to their resentment alone, formed a plan for getting possession by stratagem of Demetriades, Chalcis, and Sparta, and committed the execution of this plan to three of their principal citizens. Diocles succeeded in the design upon Demetriades; Thos failed in that against Chalcis; but Alexamenes was somewhat more successful at Sparta. Having entered that city with 1000 men, under pretence of assisting Nabis, he was joyfully received by the tyrant; but drawing him aside, as if to communicate something to him in private, he suddenly pulled him from his horse, and then gave the signal agreed on to his attendants, who, rushing forward, killed Nabis on the spot. Then they
192. fell to pillaging his treasures. The Spartans arming in the mean time, attacked the Ætolians, and cut most of them off, together with their leader Alexamenes. Philopœmen, hearing of this confusion at Sparta, quickly entered that city with a body of troops; and calling an assembly, persuaded the Spartans to join the Achæan league. By this step Philopœmen acquired great honour; and he displayed singular disinterestedness by refusing a present sent him by the Spartans of 120 talents, arising from the sale of the effects of Nabis.

Antiochus having, by the persuasion of the Ætolians, entered Greece, was defeated near the pass of Thermopylæ by the Roman consul Manius Acilius.

After this victory, the consul intimated to the Ætolians that it was not yet too late for them to have recourse to the Roman clemency, and to avoid the chastisement due to their repeated offences ; for that they might purchase their pardon, by putting their capital Heraclea into the hands of the Romans. These remonstrances proving ineffectual, the consul proceeded to lay siege to that city in form. As it was large and well fortified, the besieged made an obstinate defence, and fought with the most desperate bravery. But Manius having given a general assault about three o'clock in the morning, while the Ætolians, wearied with fatigue, lay buried in sleep, carried the city, and gave it up to be pillaged. Many of the inhabitants fled to the citadel, but were at last obliged by famine to surrender. The rest of the nation having shut themselves up in Naupactus, were pursued thither by the consul, who laid close siege to that city, and in two months reduced the enemy to the last extremity. The Ætolians, now on the point of perishing under the Roman power, made the humblest supplications to the consul Quintius to pity their misery, and to interpose in their behalf. Quintius, compassionating their distress, prevailed with Manius to grant them a truce, during which they might have an opportunity to make their submissions to the senate at Rome.

The Ætolians hearing soon after that Antiochus was totally defeated by the Romans in the battle of Magnesia, and finding themselves unable to resist any longer, implicitly submitted to the conditions prescribed them by the senate ; of which the principal article was, that they should deliver up their arms and horses to the Romans, and pay them 1000 talents of silver.

Those Spartans who had been banished from their country by Nabis, having taken possession of some places on the coast, thence made incursions into the Lacedemonian territories. By way of reprisals, the

latter attacked and took possession of Las, one of the places occupied by those refugees; who thereupon having applied to the Achæans for relief, prevailed with them to interpose in the affair. The Achæans, under pretence of the Romans having put under their protection all the towns on the coast, required the Spartans to deliver up the authors of the enterprise against Las. This demand threw the Spartans into such a fury, that they killed thirty of those who were most intimately connected with Philopœmen, renounced their alliance with the Achæans, and sent ambassadors to the consul Fulvius, to beg of the Romans to take Sparta under their protection. The Achæans being informed of this, were in their turn highly offended, and declared war against the Spartans. The dispute was referred to the decision of the Roman senate; both parties were heard, and a decision was pronounced in very ambiguous terms, which, however, the Achæans pretended to interpret in their own favour.

Philopœmen, therefore, putting himself at the head of an army, advanced to Sparta, and summoned the inhabitants to deliver up to him the authors of the enterprise against Las. The principal inhabitants having gone out to make an answer to this demand, were furiously set upon by the refugees who happened to be in Philopœmen's army, and seventeen of them were slain; and next day sixty-three more of them were condemned to death by this exasperated multitude. Then the Achæans proceeded to treat Sparta like a city taken by force, commanding the walls to be pulled down, the foreign soldiers to be sent out of Laconia, and the laws of Lycurgus to be totally abolished. Every particular was executed, accordingly, to the inexpressible grief of the Spartans, who sent complaints to Rome against Philopœmen; in consequence whereof, Lepidus wrote a letter to the Achæans, severely reprimanding them for their unlawful proceedings. The senate disapproved, in the strongest

terms, of the rigorous conduct of the Achæans, and cited them to make their defence at Rome. They endeavoured to justify themselves; but the senate pronounced sentence in favour of the Lacedæmonians, ordaining, that those who had been banished by the Achæans should be recalled and restored to their estates; that all the proceedings relating to that affair should be annulled; that the walls of Sparta should be rebuilt by the Achæans; and that it should remain united with the Achæan confederacy.

About this time, the Messenians having, by the persuasion of Dinocrates, renounced the Achæan league, resolved to take possession of Corona, an important post. Of this resolution Philopœmen getting notice, took the field, though then seventy years of age, and advanced towards Messene. An engagement ensuing, Philopœmen in the beginning of it repulsed the enemy. But a strong reinforcement arriving to the aid of the Messenians, the Achæan troops were defeated, and Philopœmen, after performing extraordinary feats of valour, was grievously wounded, thrown from his horse, taken prisoner, conducted to Messene in chains, imprisoned, and, by the advice of Dinocrates, cruelly put to death by poison. Philopœmen received the cup without making the least complaint, drank off the poison, and expired a few moments after. The Achæans, penetrated with grief on receiving this news, immediately took arms with a resolution to revenge his death; and marching into the territory of Messene, made a dreadful ravage. The Messenians, unable to resist the torrent, begged for peace in the humblest manner. The Achæans insisted on their delivering up the authors of Philopœmen's death; and the Messenians agreed to the condition. But Dinocrates prevented his punishment by killing himself. The other persons concerned in that cruel affair were stoned to death around the tomb of Philopœmen. The Achæans

performed the most magnificent funeral obsequies to the memory of their brave general, and carried his ashes to Megalopolis. The procession resembled that of a triumph ; the horse and foot marched under arms, and the inhabitants of the towns through which they passed came out to meet the procession.

This year was rendered remarkable by the deaths of three of the most famous commanders in antiquity, Hannibal, Scipio, Africanus, and Philopœmen.

The Roman senate began now to take umbrage at the power and credit of the Achæan league ; and to behold with a jealous eye the ability of their generals, the valour of their troops, the perfect union that subsisted among their cities, and the entire liberty in which they lived. In this disposition the Romans, with a view of humbling them, never failed to give a favourable hearing to the enemies of the league ; and some of its unworthy members, such as Callicrates, who hurt them considerably in the affair of the Spartan refugees, were constantly furnishing pretences to the Romans for curbing the republic. But it was not till after the defeat of Perseus, the last formidable enemy to the Roman power, that the senate resolved to dissolve the league, and to reduce the Achæans entirely under their power.

With this view, the Romans industriously applied themselves to weaken them, by fomenting divisions among them, and by committing all the important offices of the republic to men totally devoted to their pleasure ; who by that means possessed the balance of power in their assemblies. Public officers having been by the Romans dispatched into Asia, to take information against all those who had supported Perseus, received from Callicrates, a man wholly in the interest of Rome, a list of such of the Achæans as he suspected to have favoured the cause of that king. Upon this information, no fewer than 1000 of the most considerable citizens in

the Achæan republic were seized; and the Achæans were ordered to conduct them to Rome. What a detestable instance of tyranny! The celebrated historian Polybius was one of this number. On arriving at Rome, they were distributed through the different countries of Italy, without so much as being heard in their own defence. The Achæans, compassionating the fate of their fellow-citizens, sent several different embassies to Rome, intreating the senate to take cognizance of the accusation against those citizens who had never been brought to trial at home. But all their remonstrances were ineffectual, though successively renewed from time to time, for the space of seventeen years. At last, however, the senate consented to the restoration of those exiles to their native country. But during so long an interval, so many of them had died, that of the 1000 who had come into Italy, only 300 returned to Greece.

Some years after, great disturbances broke out in Achaia, by the indiscretion of their principal magistrates: one of whom, named Democritus, declared war against Sparta, and entering Laconia with an army, laid waste the country. The Romans sent commissioners to terminate this dispute, who, proceeding to Corinth, conducted matters at first with great moderation; for Carthage not being yet taken, the Romans chose to manage tenderly such powerful allies as the Achæans. This behaviour, however, served only to make the factious Achæans more unruly; and their chief, Critolaus, posted from city to city, exasperating his countrymen against the Romans, and endeavouring to prevent any agreement from being concluded with the Lacedemonians.

It must be acknowledged, that at this time the Achæans were far from behaving to the Romans with that caution and prudence they ought. On the contrary, they seemed to be doing every thing to excite their resentment. Metellus, who was then

in Macedonia, hearing of these disturbances, sent four Romans of consideration to Corinth, to exhort the Achæans not to draw on themselves the vengeance of his countrymen. But their remonstrances were derided, and they themselves were driven out of the city. The Corinthians, on this occasion, particularly distinguished themselves by their animosity against the Romans. Critolaus in the mean time laboured to persuade his countrymen to make war on the Lacedemonians; publicly boasting, that he would make head against the whole Roman power, and that he had engaged kings on his side. His endeavours were successful; and he even found means to prevail on the Bœotians and the people of Chalcis to join the confederacy. These states seemed at present to be actuated by a spirit of folly, which was hurrying them to their ruin.

The Romans, informed of these transactions in Greece, ordered Mummius to make war on the Achæans. Metellus, who was on the spot, once more sent them an embassy, acquainting them that the Roman people might yet be prevailed upon to forget their past behaviour, provided they would return to their duty, and consent to certain cities being disunited from the confederacy. These proposals were rejected in so disdainful a manner, that Metellus was provoked at it. Immediately, therefore, marching against them with his army, he gained a complete victory, and took more than 1000 prisoners. In this engagement Critolaus disappeared; and it was commonly believed that he was drowned in a marsh, as he was endeavouring to make his escape. Diæus, therefore, another man of a factious turbulent spirit, assumed the command, levied forces from all quarters, and mustered up an army of about 14,000 men. Metellus in the mean time pursued the rebels; and having fallen in with 1000 Arcadians, put them all to the sword. He then marched against Thebes; but the inhabitants, terrified at the fame of the Roman victories, aban-

doned the city. Then advancing towards Corinth, where Diæus had shut himself up, he dispatched three of the most considerable persons of the Achæan republic, to persuade their countrymen to avoid, ere it was too late, their impending ruin. But the multitude favouring the faction of Diæus, threw those citizens into prison.

Things were in this situation when Mummius arrived. Metellus then returned into Macedonia. Mummius immediately assembled his troops, and formed his camp. The besieged made a sally, attacked the Romans, and killed many of them. This inconsiderable advantage proved their ruin. Diæus, elated by his success, was mad enough to offer battle to the consul; who, to increase his presumption, declined the engagement, as if through fear. The Achæans, deceived by this stratagem, advanced with the most foolish confidence against the Romans; who at last marched out to meet them, and gave them battle nearly about the narrowest place of the isthmus. The Achæans, at the same time that they were engaging the Roman legions, finding themselves charged from an ambuscade by all the consul's cavalry, were in a moment overpowered and put to flight. Diæus in despair hurrying to Megalopolis, his native city, killed his wife, set fire to his house, and drank poison. The Achæans, now without a leader, had not the courage to rally, but fled on all sides. Most of the inhabitants retired from Corinth in the night. Mummius entering the city, gave it up to be pillaged; put to the sword all the men that remained in it; sold the women and children for slaves; and after taking away the finest statues and pictures, set fire to the houses, reduced the whole city to ashes, and razed the
146. walls to the foundations. Thus perished Corinth the same year that Carthage was taken and destroyed. The Romans demolished the walls of all those cities that had taken part in the revolt.

The ruin of Corinth made so terrible an impres-

sion on the Achæans, that their courage entirely deserted them. The senate pretended that they had treated the Corinthians thus severely, on account of their having violated the law of nations, by abusing the ambassadors sent them from Rome. But the truth is, that the Romans, not choosing that any state should be able to resist their power, resolved to destroy Corinth, whose very strong and advantageous situation rendered it a most convenient hold for any of their enemies ; who, with proper skill and resolution, might there baffle for a long while the whole Roman power. The Romans drew immense riches from the spoils of this city. Among the pictures found in it, there was one representing Bacchus, executed by the celebrated Aristides. This piece was reckoned infinitely superior to all the rest, and was ordered to be given to Attalus for about £3200 sterling ; but Mummius thinking it a matter of dangerous example to sell a picture at such an extravagant price, refused, in spite of the complaints of Attalus, to deliver it, and sent it to Rome, not indeed for his own private use, but as a public ornament. It was accordingly placed in the temple of Ceres. That illustrious Roman gave upon this occasion a striking proof of his disinterestedness, integrity, and great knowledge in the art of war ; but at the same time he showed himself to be miserably deficient in point of taste for the fine arts ; for we are told by Velleius Paterculus, that to make those employed in the transportation of the Corinthian statues and pictures to Rome, more than ordinarily careful about so precious a trust, he threatened, that if any of them were spoiled or amissing, he would oblige the bearers to furnish others at their own expence.

After this memorable period, the Romans sent commissioners into Greece, who abolished in all the states the popular form of government, and created magistrates dependent on the Roman commonwealth. But in other respects the Greeks were left

in the full enjoyment of their laws and liberty. At last, however, Greece was reduced into the form of a Roman province, and was governed by a prætor sent thither annually. Thenceforth, therefore, it bore the name of the province of Achaia; the Achæans being in those later times the most powerful people in Greece.

As Athens has all along made the most
146. considerable figure in the history of Greece, we will before concluding, briefly take notice of the most remarkable misfortunes experienced by that city after the Romans made themselves masters of Greece.

Mithridates, king of Pontus, having subdued all Asia Minor, dispatched into Greece an army of 120,000 men under Archelaus; who, by means of so great a force, soon reduced Athens, and obliged the other states of Greece to submit to Mithridates. Archelaus, fixing his residence at Athens, possessed himself of all authority, and exercised a cruel tyranny over the inhabitants. Their miseries, however, under this new master, were but slight in comparison of those they were soon to undergo.

The celebrated Sylla being charged with the conduct of the war against Mithridates, passed over into Greece with five legions. All the cities, except Athens, immediately on his arrival, opened their gates to him. The Athenians were not at liberty to follow their own inclinations. The tyrant Aristion, under whose yoke they then groaned, was daring enough to oppose the Roman troops, and to sustain a siege against Sylla. That general immediately invested Pyreus, where Aristion had taken post; and though the walls were sixty feet high, and very strong, Sylla attacked them with the greatest vigour; employing for that purpose a vast number of engines, and neither regarding danger nor expence. Being in want of wood, he cut down the trees of the Lyceum, which formed most beautiful and delicious walks; and to supply himself with money he

plundered the treasures of the temples of Delphos and Epidarum.

If the attack was desperate, the defence was no less so. Both parties behaved with the greatest courage and resolution. Every day produced new assaults and new sallies, in which a vast deal of blood was spilt. The Athenians displayed on this occasion all the admired intrepidity of their ancestors. They burnt part of the Roman machines, and overturned others by means of mines which they carried under the spots whereon they stood. The Romans, animated by Sylla, discovered no less ardour. On their side they employed mines likewise, and thereby threw down a considerable part of the wall. Having thus made a large breach, they immediately gave an assault, but after a long and desperate dispute were repulsed. The Athenians during the ensuing night shut up the breach by a new wall.

Sylla was beginning to despair of success, when an idea struck him of reducing the city by famine. Converting therefore the siege into a blockade, he soon brought every horror of famine upon the miserable Athenians; who, after devouring all the herbage, roots, and the flesh of their horses, were obliged to eat the leather of their shoes. Some of them are even reported to have had recourse to the shocking expedient of eating human flesh. Finding themselves at last under an absolute necessity of capitulating, the people and senators, by the most earnest solicitations, prevailed on Aristion to send deputies to obtain the best terms they could from Sylla. But those deputies, instead of suing in the humble manner that became a people in their situation, having entered into a pompous description of the exploits of the ancient Athenians, were interrupted by the haughty Roman, who, calling them in derision *preachers*, and desiring them to reserve their fine rhetorical flourishes for themselves, informed them, that he had not come thither to learn the heroic actions of their ancestors, but to chastise them for

their rebellion ; and he dismissed them without further ceremony.

Sylla getting intelligence soon after from his spies, of a part of the wall low enough to be scaled, gave orders to fix ladders there the following night. The Romans by these means made themselves masters of the city, and put all they met to the sword. The carnage was dreadful, few of the miserable inhabitants having escaped. Sylla gave up the city to be plundered ; and then proceeded to invest the citadel, which was soon forced to surrender for want of provision. Aristion some time after was put
87. to death. Sylla having next made himself master of Pyreus, demolished its fortifications, and burnt to the ground the arsenal, a building much admired for its elegant architecture.

Sylla, after beating the generals of Mithridates in two great engagements at Cheronea and Orchomene, reduced Macedonia and Greece under the Roman power in the same manner as they had been formerly. Then passing over into Asia Minor, he conquered Ionia and several other provinces, whereof Mithridates had taken possession in that country.

Greece, by becoming a Roman province, did not lose that ardent desire of liberty which was always its principal characteristic. In the Roman civil wars between Cæsar and Pompey, the Athenians warmly embraced the side of the latter, which appeared to be founded on republican principles ; and after the death of Julius Cæsar, they erected statues to the memory of Cassius, who had been the most active of the conspirators against Cæsar.

Greece, though stripped of her political power, still preserved her sovereignty in the sciences and fine arts ; and, in that respect, received homage from her very conquerors. The most illustrious men among the Romans repaired thither to be instructed in the most valuable branches of literature. Athens, therefore, that nursery of learning and science, still remained the central point in the republic of letters,

and continued to be frequented by all who desired to acquire that atticism so highly valued by the ancients, and that standard taste which enabled them to estimate, with peculiar accuracy, the real beauties of every work of genius or art. Here too, and here only, were to be learnt the true principles of eloquence. All, therefore, who applied themselves successfully to public speaking, and Cicero in particular, repaired to Athens, to study under the ablest masters of oratory. Thither did the same Cicero send his son to hear the lectures of Cratippus; every Roman of any rank or consideration followed the same course; and Greek learning, according to the testimony of Plutarch, was accounted so requisite a branch of education among that judicious people, that a Roman who did not understand the Greek language, never arrived at any high degree of estimation.

Such of the emperors as had a taste for the sciences, Titus, Antoninus, Marcus Aurelius, Lucius Verus, and some others, used every means to entice to their court the most distinguished philosophers of Greece, not only to enjoy their conversation themselves, but that they might direct the education of their children. Even in the decline of the Roman empire, and during the fourth and fifth ages of Christianity, Greece still continued to be the resort of the philosophers of all nations. We see, from ecclesiastical history, that St Basil, St Gregory, and St Chrysostom, those bright luminaries of the church, went to Athens to imbibe, at the source, the most important branches of knowledge. It is remarkable too, that a few detached beams from the setting sun of Grecian genius lighted up the dawn of learning and of science in western Europe, after it had remained for several centuries involved in the deepest gloom of Gothic ignorance. This propitious event was the consequence of an apparently heavy calamity, namely, the sacking of Constantinople by Mahomet II. about the middle of the fif-

teenth century. By that revolution many eminent philosophers and artists having been induced to abandon their native country, settled in Italy, where they restored the knowledge of the sciences and fine arts. And it will reflect immortal honour on the taste and munificence of the truly noble house of Medicis, that to the princely encouragement afforded by them to those learned and ingenious emigrants, Europe is chiefly indebted for the revival of polite literature.

Besides Athens, several other cities were famous for being the residence of the arts and sciences, such as Alexandria, Byzantium, Rhodes, and Ephesus.

EMINENT WRITERS, PHILOSOPHERS, ARTISTS, &c.

PANÆTIUS, the Stoic philosopher, was descended of one of the most illustrious families in Rhodes; but his love of knowledge induced him to reside at Athens, where he attached himself to the Stoic school, then very much in fashion. The fame of his knowledge soon reached Rome, where the greatest men then applied themselves to the study of philosophy. Panætius was drawn thither by the invitation of some of the most illustrious Romans, and formed a very intimate friendship with Lelius and Scipio; the latter of whom honoured him with marks of the greatest confidence, and prevailed with him to accompany him in his expeditions. Panætius composed a treatise on the moral duties of mankind, highly valued by Cicero, who made much use of it in composing his offices.

Epictetus, a native of Hieropolis, a city in Phrygia, was likewise a follower of the Stoic sect. He was equally famous for the sublimity of his sentiments and for the purity of his morals; in which last respect, the Stoics, notwithstanding their exterior severity, and their rigid doctrines, were far from being altogether irreproachable. He was, when

very young, the slave of one of the officers of the emperor Nero's bed-chamber. But having been driven from Rome in the reign of Domitian, he retired to Nicopolis ; where, in spite of his poverty, he lived for several years in general esteem. He returned to Rome in the time of Hadrian. The leading maxims of his philosophy may be comprehended in this short sentence, "Suffer patiently, and be moderate in your pleasures." The only part of his works now remaining is his Manuel ; and for this we are indebted to his scholar Arrian. Nothing except Christianity itself can be more pure and sublime than the doctrines of his philosophy. The celebrated Monsieur Pascal, who had studied it with great accuracy, has composed an abstract of it with a distinctness and precision worthy so great a genius. As this piece is curious and scarce, we shall here present the reader with the substance of it.

"Epictetus (says he) is one of the few philosophers who had the justest notion of the duties of human life. He desires, above all things, that God Almighty may be constantly the chief object of our consideration ; that we be thoroughly persuaded of his perfect justice, and cheerfully submit to all his dispensations, from an entire conviction of his infinite wisdom. He assures us, that this disposition will prevent all murmurings and complaints, and enable us to bear with patience the most painful accidents of life. Never say, 'I have lost such a thing ;' say rather, 'I have restored it :' My son dies, 'I have restored him :' My wife dies, 'I have given her back ;' and so of every other possession. While the Almighty indulges you in the use of it, be careful of it, as being the property of another. You must never desire that things should be disposed according to your fancy or pleasure ; but be always assured that they happen for the best : Constantly regard yourself as being in this world a kind of player, who must perform such a part as it pleases your master to allot you : Remain on the theatre

so long as he appoints ; appear rich or poor as your character requires, and endeavour to play your part as well as possible ; but still remember, that to assign the part is the business of your master : Reflect daily on death, and the most lamentable miseries of life ; this will preserve you from thinking basely, and from desiring any thing too earnestly.” He proceeds to point out how a man ought to behave on many different occasions. He advises him to be humble and modest ; to conceal his good resolutions, and to accomplish them privately ; because nothing diminishes their value so much as ostentation. He repeats again and again, and constantly endeavours to enforce this maxim, “ That the whole desire, the whole study of man, should be to discover the will of God, and to follow it.”

Demetrius Phalerius has been already mentioned as chief magistrate of Athens. It only remains to say a few words of him here as an orator. He was the scholar of Theophrastus, from whom he learned a florid and highly ornamented style. He excelled in that species of eloquence which employs the graces of declamation and beautiful shining expressions, but is devoid of solidity and vigour. Being, however, much applauded for the pleasure he gave the ear and imagination, he had a great number of imitators. It is for this reason that he is said to have contributed greatly to the decline and corruption of eloquence at Athens. To please was the whole aim of the oratory of Demetrius : which, therefore, was better adapted to amuse the fancy than to convince the understanding.

To the number of Greek orators may perhaps be added several fathers of the church ; such as saint Basil, saint Gregory, and saint Chrysostom, whose writings contain a beauty of style, a solidity of reasoning, and a vehemence of expression, well calculated for touching the heart and moving the passions.

Polybius, the famous historian, was a native of Megalopolis. He learned eloquence and philosophy

under his own father Lycortas, a man greatly distinguished for the firmness with which he supported the interests of the Achæan republic against the ambitious designs of the Romans. Philopœmen was his master in the art of war. His merit was known at Rome, where many of the principal citizens cultivated his acquaintance; and particularly the two sons of Paulus Æmilius; of whom the youngest, the son by adoption of Cornelius Scipio, the son of the great Africanus, and the destroyer of Numantia and Carthage, profited much by his instructions.

Polybius is believed to have composed the greatest part of his history at Rome. This history contained not only the Roman transactions, but those of all the then known world, from the first Punic war to the ruin of the kingdom of Macedonia, comprehending altogether a space of fifty-three years. Polybius therefore called it an universal history, and divided it into forty books; of which only the five first now remain. The loss of the rest is very much to be regretted; for we should have found there a representation of the grandest and most interesting scenes ever displayed on the theatre of the world. There we should have seen, particularly in the period of the second Punic war, the two most warlike and powerful nations then in the world, engaged in the most serious and important contest; Rome on the very brink of destruction; and Carthage finally vanquished and undone. There, too, we should have found an account of the wars of the Romans with Philip king of Macedon, with Antiochus king of Syria, with the Ætolians, and with king Perseus; in a word, the great chain of events that conducted Rome to the utmost pitch of power, and enabled her to swallow up all the states and kingdoms in our hemisphere. This loss is so much the greater, that Polybius bestowed the utmost care, attention, and industry, to procure the best information with respect to facts. That he

might not be mistaken about the situation of places, he himself travelled to the spots where the principal engagements described by him happened. Besides all this, Polybius abounds with the justest reflections; and every where delivers the most solid maxims of policy; two particulars that constitute the chief excellence of every historian, and from which a reader derives the most valuable instruction. It is true, that his digressions are generally tedious; but the facts they contain are so curious, that it were rigorous to find fault with them.

Polybius, having returned into the Peloponnesus after the destruction of Corinth, had an opportunity of defending the memory of his master Philopœmen from an accusation of his having been an enemy of the Roman people. He acquitted himself on that occasion with such eloquence and force of argument, that a decree was passed, forbidding the statues set up in honour of that hero to be demolished or hurt. Polybius was likewise chosen by the Roman commissioners to visit the conquered towns, and to settle any disputes that had arisen among them. This commission he executed with such admirable prudence and equity, that statues were, in different places, erected to his honour. After this he went back to Scipio at Rome, with whom he lived till the death of that illustrious Roman, when he once more returned to his native country, and there ended his days at the age of eighty-two years.

Dionysius the Halicarnassian was, as his name imports, a native of Halicarnassus, a city of Caria in Asia Minor. He came into Italy about the time of the battle of Actium gained by Augustus against Anthony. His principal work, intitled, *The Roman Antiquities*, was divided into twenty books, of which only eleven now remain, and comprehended the most abstruse part of the Roman history, which it deduced from the founding of Rome. During the residence of Dionysius at Rome, he formed an

acquaintance with the most learned men then in that city, and studied very carefully the works of the most esteemed historians. The learned discover in Dionysius a profound erudition, a most acute spirit of criticism, a mind void of prejudice, and an ardent love of truth. We are particularly obliged to him for the knowledge he has given us of the religion and manners of the Romans. His style is simple and elegant; and he appears more solicitous about showing his learning than about the ornaments of eloquence.

Diodorus Siculus lived in the time of Julius Cæsar and Augustus. His work, intitled, *The Historical Library*, comprehended forty books, of which only fifteen now remain. The five first immediately follow one another, contain the history of the fabulous times, and treat of what happened previous to the siege of Troy. The next seven books comprehend the history of the Persians and Greeks, from the expedition of Xerxes into Greece, till the death of Alexander. And the three last give us the history of Alexander's successors. Diodorus is a very valuable historian; and though he appears to have given rather too much credit to the traditions of the priests, yet we have great reason to regret the loss of the rest of his history. His style unites simplicity with perspicuity, and his works abound with judicious reflections.

Plutarch, the celebrated biographer, was a native of Cherne in Bœotia, and lived in the reign of the emperor Nero. He performed several journeys into Italy, to collect materials for his *Lives of Illustrious Men*: and he numbered among his friends the greatest men of Rome, who took delight in hearing him reason in Greek on matters of philosophy. At last he fixed his constant residence in his native country, where he was honoured with the first employments, and discharged those, as well as all the duties of private life, with admirable care and prudence; showing himself to be a good father,

a good husband, a good master, and a good citizen; and his virtue was rewarded with the sweetest harmony and peace in his family.

His works are, his *Lives of Illustrious Men*, and his *Discourses on Morals*. The last contain very useful maxims for the conduct of life, sublime notions about the divinity and immortality of the soul, and are interspersed throughout with curious anecdotes. But *The Lives of Illustrious Men* is the work that has immortalised the name of Plutarch. It is looked upon as the most proper book in the world, to form men either for private life or for public employments; and it abounds with particulars highly worthy of observation. Things are there estimated at their real value. He does not confine himself to the great and shining actions alone of the illustrious men whose lives he writes; "He does not satisfy himself," says M. Rollin, "to paint the commander, the conqueror, the politician, the magistrate, the orator; he introduces his reader into the closets, as it were, or rather indeed into the hearts of those of whom he speaks; and there makes him acquainted with the father, the husband, the master, the friend. We seem to live and to converse with them, and to be present at their parties of pleasure, their walks, their feasts their conversations. Cicero somewhere observes, that in walking through Athens, and the places adjacent, one can hardly advance a step without meeting with some ancient monument mentioned in history, which recalled to the imagination the remembrance of some great man of antiquity, and rendered him in a manner present. The reading of Plutarch's lives," continues Mr Rollin, "produces a similar effect, presenting, as it were, before our eyes, the great men of whom he speaks, and giving us an idea of their behaviour and manners, as lively and strong as if we were living and conversing with them."

For this reason, the loss of some of those lives is

the more to be regretted. Plutarch appears, on all occasions, to be a great painter; and his style, though plain and simple, is nevertheless lively and expressive; but not every where equally supported. Plutarch is censured for his fondness of story-telling; and indeed, provided a story be curious, he never fails to introduce it, and to give a minute detail of it, however remote its connexion may be with the subject in hand. But his reflections are always sensible and pertinent. We are indebted to him for having preserved to us specimens of the writings of some of his great men.

Besides the eminent historians here taken notice of, several others of the same country flourished in the times of the emperors; such as Arrian, Elian, Appian, and Herodian; but these were of an inferior rank to those mentioned above.

THE
HISTORY
OF
ANCIENT GREECE.

BOOK V.

CONTAINING A SUCCINT ACCOUNT OF THE PRINCIPAL TRANSACTIONS IN THE ISLAND OF SICILY.

SICILY is situated in the Mediterranean sea, to the southwest of Italy; from which it is separated by the Strait of Messino, about two miles and a half over.

It is about 170 miles long and 100 broad, and of a triangular form, the three angles being terminated by as many remarkable capes, namely, Pachinum* to the south, Pelorum† to the north, and Lilybeum‡ to the west.

As it lies between thirty-seven and thirty-nine degrees of northern latitude, its climate is warm: and it is healthful. From remotest antiquity down to these times, Sicily has been always regarded as one of the most fruitful spots in the world, producing corn, wine, oil, and silk, particularly the first, in extraordinary abundance. It was called the granary of ancient Rome, and with justice; as that great capital of the western world, when in the zenith of its power, glory, and population, depended chiefly on this island for its supplies of corn.

* Now Passaro.

† Now Faro.

‡ Now Boeo.

The climate, the fertility, and the beauty of Sicily, conspire to render it one of the most delicious countries on earth. But it is subject to one dreadful calamity, which proves an alloy to all its excellences, namely, a frequency of earthquakes. These are supposed, and with much probability, to be principally occasioned by the convulsions which, from the earliest tradition down to our days, have been constantly agitating, though with very different degrees of violence, the whole island, but more especially the bowels of mount *Ætna*. This mountain is of very great extent, being nearly twelve miles from the commencement of its ascent to its summit, and it is one of the largest volcanos in the world. Its eruptions are accompanied by severe earthquakes, by which the whole island is violently shaken. Many towns, with great numbers of the inhabitants, have by these earthquakes been at different periods swallowed up and destroyed. In the 1693 above fifty towns are said to have been reduced to ruins, and more than 150,000 persons to have perished.

The more ancient history of Sicily is obscure and perplexed. Its fruitfulness, and its advantageous situation, nearly in the centre of the Mediterranean sea, from whence the navigation to the Greek islands, and to the richest districts of Europe, of Asia Minor, and of Africa, was short and easy, naturally invited thither many adventurers in commerce. Colonies of Phenicians, of Carthaginians, of Greeks, and of Italians, found means to procure establishments there, and built cities.

These cities became as many independent states. But their respective forms of government seem to have been extremely fluctuating; sometimes displaying the sublimest heroism and virtue, but often-er distracted by the folly and fury of republicanism; and frequently groaning under the cruel oppression of a parcel of petty tyrants.

The Carthaginians in particular appear to have

acquired an early footing, and to have colonized many considerable territories in Sicily. That commercial people, fully sensible of the importance of this island, at length aspired at the sovereignty of the whole country. In this pursuit they persisted for many years, with various success, and at an immense expence of blood and treasure: but at last they were entirely expelled by the Romans, their rivals and their mortal enemies.

The first Greeks that passed over into Sicily, were the Chalcidians of Eubœa, who founded Leontium and Catana. After them, Archias the Corinthian led a colony into that island, and became the founder of the city of Syracuse about the year before Christ 709. Much about the same time the foundations of Megara were laid by the Megareans.

In like manner, several Greek colonies settled in the southern parts of Italy, commonly known by the name of Calabria; which increasing daily, and being joined by many additional colonies of Greeks, grew at last so considerable, that the country obtained the name of Greater Greece.

These colonies, imitating the example, and actuated by the spirit of the parent states in proper Greece, from whence they had emigrated, appear to have preserved themselves in a state of independence. None of them therefore ever arrived at any eminent degree of power or territory by the subjection of their neighbours. They are chiefly noted in history for luxury and voluptuousness of manners.

Syracuse was the most powerful city in Sicily. History, however, has transmitted no memorable circumstance regarding it during the two first centuries of its existence. It only began to make a figure in the time of king Gelon. But, for the space of 200 years after that period, it gave occasion to many interesting events. Of these we shall here confine ourselves to the most considerable.

About the year before Christ 484, the Carthaginians, at the instigation of Xerxes the famous king

of Persia, invaded Sicily with an army of 300,000 men and a fleet of 2000 ships; but this formidable army was defeated by Gelon then tyrant of Syracuse.

This Gelon deserves to be ranked among the greatest men. He was a native of Gela, a city on the southern coast of Sicily. Upon the death of Hypocrates, tyrant of that place, Gelon took arms against his fellow-citizens, subdued them, and possessed himself of the sovereign authority. Shortly after, he affected a similar revolution at Syracuse; where, after securing himself in the supreme authority, he directed his attention to extend the territory of the city, and soon become very powerful. Hamilcar, the Carthaginian general, having laid siege to the city of Himera, Gelon went to the assistance of his father-in-law, who defended that place; and the father and son, joining their forces, gave battle to the Carthaginians, gained a complete victory, and made an immense booty. Gelon employed the greatest part of the spoil to decorate the temples of Syracuse; he divided the prisoners with the greatest equity; and, assembling the Syracusans, gave them a full account of his proceedings. By those means, he acquired their esteem and affection to such a degree, that they voluntarily bestowed on him the title of king. "He was the first (says M. Rollin) whom the regal dignity rendered a better man." Historians are full of the praises of Gelon's virtues. They celebrate particularly his sincerity, his exact observance of his promises and engagements, and his careful attention to promote agriculture. He thought himself bound, as king, to defend the interests of the state, to enforce justice, and to protect innocence. He embellished and fortified the city, and increased its territory. He never made his power to be felt, except in doing good; and persisting in the same moderation to the end of his life, he died universally regretted by his subjects, after a reign of seven years.

Hiero, one of Gelon's sons, succeeded him; but

proved at first a king of a very different character, indulging himself in all his passions, and giving a loose to violence and injustice. His subjects therefore regarded him as a tyrant. But being, by his delicate state of health, exposed to frequent indispositions, he gave way on such occasions to reflection; resolved at last to change his conduct; and, with that view, invited to his court Simonides and Pindar, the most famous poets of his time, who, by the charms of their poetry and conversation, softened in a great measure his fierce and gloomy disposition, and inspired him with more refined notions of government, as well as of the conduct of private life. Xenophon has taken occasion, from this circumstance, to compose a treatise on this important subject, which he has intitled *Hiero*. He draws it up in the form of a dialogue between that prince and Simonides. *Hiero* is there introduced to maintain, that kings and tyrants are, on many accounts, far from being so happy as is commonly imagined; but particularly, by their being almost necessarily deprived of the greatest happiness of life, namely, a true friend. Simonides, on the other side, is made to describe, in a very masterly manner, the duties of royalty; and his whole argument tends to demonstrate, that a king ought not to be accounted such for his own sake, but for that of his subjects. *Hiero*, during the remaining part of his life, endeavoured, by the mildest and most engaging behaviour, to draw to his court the finest geniuses of his time. He died after a reign of eleven years.

Thrasylbulus his brother succeeded him, and
 472. proved a downright tyrant. His haughty and cruel behaviour provoked his subjects to rebel against him, and to besiege him in his palace.

Thrasylbulus was obliged to capitulate; and
 461. to save his life, having consented to go into exile, he retired into the country of the Locrians. The Syracusans having thus recovered their liberty, erected a colossal statue to Jupiter the De-

liverer, appointed an annual festival in commemoration of their deliverance, and re-established the popular form of government.

Diodorus Siculus mentions, as having flourished about this time, Deucetius, who was chief of the people properly called Sicilians. This Deucetius, after continuing for some time very powerful, and gaining great advantages over the Syracusans, built a famous temple called Palici, which was made an inviolable asylum for all who were oppressed by a superior power. At last, however, Deucetius's good fortune abandoned him. He was utterly ruined by the loss of a single battle with the Syracusans, and thereupon his remaining troops deserted. Doubtful of his fate, he boldly appeared in the market-place of Syracuse, and threw himself on the mercy of his enemies; who, moved with pity, and thinking it ungenerous and inhuman to take advantage of his present misfortune, not only gave him his life, but assigned him a handsome subsistence.

Syracuse, after enjoying her liberty for more than fifty years, was, about the year before Christ 416, attacked by the arms of the Athenians, incited to that war by the ambition of Alcibiades. We have already given a full account of the particulars of this expedition, which proved most ruinous to the Athenians. (Vide B.ii.)

By the abdication of Thrasybulus, Syracuse 406. had now remained about sixty years in the possession of her liberty, when Dionysius, a private citizen, formed the design of enslaving his country and of assuming the sovereign power. This man had already given proofs of his courage in a war against the Carthaginians, who had for whole ages meditated the reduction of this island, and had often made attempts, during that period, to accomplish their design.

The fruitfulness of Sicily, the wealth of its inhabitants, and the beauty of its cities, were so many

allurements to the Carthaginian avarice and ambition ; and, notwithstanding the unfortunate event of most of their invasions of it, they steadily persisted in their resolution to subdue it. Besides Syracuse, the city of Agrigentum was famous for its magnificent temple, dedicated to Olympian Jove, and for the riches of its citizens. To give us an idea of the wealth of those citizens, history takes notice of one of them called Gellias, who had in his house large apartments for the reception and entertainment of all strangers who came to the city, and wardrobes full of every sort of clothes for the accommodation of such of his guests as had occasion for them. This city, therefore, had particularly attracted the avarice of the Carthaginians, who besieged it with so powerful an army, that they at last got possession of it.

It was about this time that Dionysius conceived the design of enslaving his native city Syracuse. With that view he availed himself of the complaints of the other states of Sicily against the Syracusan magistrates ; and as he possessed in an eminent degree the talent of eloquence, so useful and so dangerous in a republican government, he stood up in the midst of the assembly of the people, and made an artful speech, calculated to render odious the principal magistrates, whom he advised the people to depose. In vain was he declared a mover of sedition, and condemned to pay a severe fine. Encouraged by several citizens, he pushed his accusation, spoke with more freedom than before, and gave a most affecting description of the miseries which the negligence of the Syracusan magistrates to send timely succours, had brought upon the inhabitants of Agrigentum, who were forced to desert their city by night, and to fly with their wives and children. The Syracusans immediately deposed those magistrates, and elected Dionysius chief magistrate in their place.

This first success increased his hopes : And as an

usurper never hesitates to practise every art, however criminal, to effect his designs, he next applied himself to supplant the generals of the army, and employed for that purpose every species of fraud and deceit. He told the people, that instead of making use of foreign troops, it was much more natural and safe to trust their defence to their own countrymen; and for that purpose to recall such of them as were living in exile. This advice was the more attentively listened to, as the Syracusans were then alarmed at the conquests of the Carthaginians. But the intention of Dionysius, in proposing this measure, was to create to himself so many adherents of those exiles, who would by that means owe their restoration to him, and would therefore be inclined from gratitude to support his interests. The people assented to his arguments, and ordered the exiles to be recalled.

Soon after, the Syracusans being applied to for assistance by the inhabitants of Gela, sent Dionysius to their relief; who served them with such zeal and effect, that they bestowed on him the highest marks of gratitude and attachment. On returning to Syracuse, Dionysius counterfeited the appearance of a man overwhelmed by distress and affliction; and at last informed the people, that he had made a discovery of a treasonable correspondence between their generals and Imilco, commander of the Carthaginians. This pretended discovery created in the minds of the people the utmost anxiety and consternation. Many cried out, that Dionysius ought to be immediately created commander-in-chief, as the danger appeared to admit of no delay. The multitude, accordingly, ever blind to causes and consequences, and only regardless of the present, instantly chose him commander-in-chief, with absolute power, though many of the most prudent and wisest citizens were of opinion, that by such a step they would in effect give away their liberty.

Dionysius, fully determined to secure himself in his power, and to render ineffectual any change of the public disposition, projected another artifice for persuading his countrymen to appoint him guards. Going therefore to the city Leontium, where there was a Syracusan garrison, certain persons employed for that purpose created a tumult. Dionysius cried out that there was a conspiracy against his life, and affected to fly for safety to the citadel, which he had garrisoned with soldiers firmly attached to his interests. An assembly of the people being called, Dionysius described to them in a most affecting manner the danger he had run, and intreated them to permit him to choose a guard of 600 men for the security of his person. His request was granted; and instead of 600, he chose 1000 soldiers by way of life-guard; whom, as well as his foreign troops, he engaged to his service by the most liberal promises. He then sent to Gela for a part of the garrison, and assembled the fugitives and exiles. Thus reinforced, the inhabitants of Syracuse were no longer able to resist him. Making therefore his public entry into the city, followed by all his retinue, he at length threw off the mask, and showed his countrymen that obedience now was their only safety. Every heart was thereupon seized with terror, and Dionysius saw himself master of the most powerful city of Sicily.

The beginnings of his reign, however, were not free from disturbance, and his ambition was very nigh costing him his head. Dionysius had marched to the relief of Gela, which was besieged by the Carthaginians. But finding himself unable to oppose the enemy, he ordered the inhabitants to abandon the city in the night, and accompanied them to cover their retreat. In this march he narrowly escaped being cut off by some of the Syracusan horsemen, who made a desperate attack upon him for that purpose; but, luckily for the tyrant, were repulsed. The danger, however, did not end

there. Those horsemen, on being disappointed in their first design, rode forwards to the city, attacked Dionysius's palace, plundered it, and abused his wife. But things soon assumed a different appearance. Dionysius pushing on to Syracuse in the night, with an escort of 500 men, defeated and cut in pieces a body of the citizens who attempted to oppose his entry, in revenge put to the sword all that came in his way, and gave up the houses of his enemies to be plundered.

The full extent of his treason soon became
404. apparent. His countrymen perceived, that, to support his usurpation, he had concluded an alliance with the Carthaginians, who intimated to them by a herald, that if they had a mind to obtain a peace, their city must remain subject to the power of Dionysius. The tyrant having now gotten the better of all opposition, inflicted on the Syracusans all the horrors and miseries of tyranny. Sensible of their hatred, and of the danger which constantly threatened his life, he resolved to sacrifice to his safety every person who gave him the least uneasiness. Studying to inspire terror by the punishments which he daily inflicted, he beheaded some citizens, burnt others, and satiated his cruelty by putting to death persons of every age and of every condition. On this occasion Plutarch observes, that such cruel tyrants are from time to time set over nations by the unerring disposition of the Almighty Creator, to scourge them for their wickedness and impiety.

Dionysius, after intimidating the Syracusans into subjection by his cruelty, began to take other measures for his future security, and applied himself particularly to fortify that part of the city called the island, which in case of necessity, might serve him for a place of refuge. Then he turned his thoughts to the subduing of such of the inhabitants of Sicily as still remained free; and for that purpose resolved to besiege the city Herbesina. But this project had

almost proved fatal to him. The Syracusan troops, whom he had armed with a view of making use of their assistance in this undertaking, finding themselves in a condition to vindicate the liberty of their country, revolted from the tyrant, besieged him in the Epipolis, and set a price upon his head. Hereupon Dionysius, being likewise deserted by his foreign auxiliaries, thought himself absolutely undone; and, to avoid falling into the hands of his enemies, conceived the design of putting an end to his life. But from this desperate resolution he was dissuaded by one of his friends. Dionysius therefore intreated permission of the Syracusans to depart from the city with his family; which they were not only simple enough to grant, but likewise complied with another request of the tyrant, to furnish him with five vessels wherein to transport his effects.

While preparations were making for the departure of Dionysius, the Syracusans, apprehensive of no further disturbance from him, gave themselves up to indolent security; of which the tyrant taking advantage, warmly solicited the Carthaginian garri- sons in the towns adjacent to come to his relief.

The Carthaginians resolved to support him; and 1200 of them marching towards Syracuse, overpowered all opposition, and effected their junction with Dionysius. This sudden reverse of fortune discouraged the Syracusans; and Dionysius having made a sally on the besiegers, and cut off a great number of them, obliged the survivors to raise the siege, and to disperse. Finding himself now superior to his enemies, he sent word to those who had fled, that they might peaceably return to the city, for he frankly forgave what had passed. Perceiving, however, that the Syracusans were not to be trusted, he thought it necessary to employ every precaution for his safety; and therefore he took the opportunity of the ensuing harvest to seize on all their arms. Then he fitted out a powerful fleet, enlisted a great number of foreign troops, and re-

solved to attempt some enterprise that might increase his power. For this indeed he possessed all the requisite courage and ability. He quickly reduced Naxus, Catana, and Leontium, and chastised some of the neighbouring cities, which had attempted to oppose his progress.

Dionysius having now formed the design of ruining the Carthaginian power in Sicily, began to make vast preparations for putting his design in execution. In the first place, he enticed to Syracuse, by the means of great encouragement, a multitude of workmen, skilful in preparing every thing necessary for a powerful armament; and that their work might proceed with more diligence and regularity, he established proper inspectors and overseers; frequently bestowed with his own hand considerable rewards on those who distinguished themselves most by their industry and skill; and used to converse with them with great familiarity. All the streets of Syracuse were thronged with artificers; and nothing was to be heard but the noise of their work. In a very short while, therefore, a prodigious quantity of arms of every kind were prepared, and a great number of galleys built, some of three, some of five benches of oars; so that he soon had a fleet of 200 galleys completely fitted out, and a number of warlike engines corresponding to his other preparations.

After finishing his naval armament, Dionysius began next to raise an army. The large pay offered by him enticed soldiers to Syracuse from all quarters, particularly from Greece; and Dionysius omitted no means to gain the affection of those soldiers. Of late indeed he was become quite a new man in every respect. Instead of the cruel, imperious, and despotic tyrant, he was now the humane, generous, merciful prince; and his present conduct effaced all remembrance of his past behaviour.

To remove as far as possible every obstacle to his great design, he endeavoured to conciliate the friend-

ship of two powerful cities, Rhegium and Messina. Then he bethought himself of providing an heir to his throne ; and with that view contracted a double marriage ; taking to wife both Aristomache the daughter of one of the richest citizens of Syracuse, and Doris the daughter of a Locrian of distinction. Aristomache was sister to the famous Dion, for whom his brother-in-law soon conceived such a high esteem and so strong a friendship, that he gave orders to furnish him with whatever money he should demand. Dion was a man of a lofty, noble soul, and had contracted a strong relish for the philosophy and conversation of Plato, who in the course of his travels had halted some time at Syracuse. Dion took all the opportunities that the great confidence and credit reposed in him by Dionysius presented, to give that prince such counsel as he thought he stood in need of.

All the preparations for war being now finished, Dionysius acquainted the Syracusans with his intentions of declaring war against the Carthaginians ; and at the same time laid before them his motives for so great an undertaking ; namely, that the Carthaginians had been always the professed enemies of the Greeks ; and that both the honour and the interest of the Greek cities called loudly for their deliverance from the yoke of barbarians. The Syracusans very highly applauded the magnanimous intentions of Dionysius ; immediately began hostilities, by putting to death and plundering the effects of all the Carthaginians found in their city ; and dispatched a herald to Carthage to make a public declaration of war. This piece of news greatly alarmed the Carthaginians ; who were the more affected by it, that they had lately suffered much by a plague. They were not, however, discouraged ; but made preparations for a vigorous defence.

Dionysius had already a powerful army on foot, amounting to 80,000 foot and 3000 horse, which was besides daily increasing ; and his fleet consisted

of 200 galleys. At the sight of so formidable an army, most of the Carthaginian cities in Sicily voluntarily opened their gates to the Syracusans; but some of them resolved to stand a siege. On the other hand, the Carthaginian general Imilco dispatched against Syracuse a small squadron of ten galleys, which, entering the harbour in the night, destroyed a good number of ships. Dionysius was in the mean time employed in besieging Metya, which made considerable resistance. But having taken it at last, he put all the inhabitants to the sword, and gave the city up to be plundered.

The Carthaginians assembled all their troops, advanced towards Palermo with a land army of 300,000 foot and 4000 horse, and a fleet of 400 galleys. With these powerful forces Imilco laid siege to Messina, and took it after a very brave defence on the part of the besieged. Dionysius, unable to make head against an army so much superior to his own, was deserted by many of his allies, and obliged to retreat to Syracuse. Having in the mean time levied fresh troops, Dionysius once more took the field. Imilco having separated himself from his fleet, Dionysius gave orders to his admiral Leptinus immediately to attack the Carthaginian fleet; but this attempt proved very unfortunate. Leptinus was surrounded by the superior number of the Carthaginian galleys; and Mago, who commanded them, cut in pieces such of the Syracusans as endeavoured to save themselves by swimming. In this engagement, the Syracusans lost more than 10,000 men, and upwards of 100 galleys.

Dionysius, on receiving the news of this defeat, returned in haste to Syracuse. Imilco, after spending some time in refitting his fleet and allowing his army to repose themselves, sailed towards Syracuse, and entered the harbour with an air of triumph; while his land army marched up to the city on the land side, and offered battle to the Syracusans, who dared not to accept the challenge. Imilco there-

fore, meeting with no resistance, laid waste the country, made himself master of the suburb of Arcadina, and prepared to besiege the city. But while he lay encamped before Syracuse, Polyxenus, one of Dionysius's brothers-in-law, arrived to his assistance with thirty ships. The Syracusans thereupon resume their courage, attack the Carthaginian fleet, and after a sharp engagement, take eighty of their galleys, and re-enter their city in triumph.

Dionysius happened to be absent from the city, taking measures for a proper supply of provisions, at the time of this engagement. The Syracusans, emboldened by their success, formed the design of shaking off the tyrant's yoke. But Dionysius arriving in the mean time, congratulated with the Syracusans on their good fortune; and assured them, that he would take such measures as should very soon bring the war to a happy conclusion. At the very time, however, that he was giving them those flattering hopes, one of the citizens, named Theodorus, a man of a daring impetuous disposition, stood up and made a speech to the assembly: wherein, after describing to them in a lively manner the various instances of tyranny committed by Dionysius, and the cruel oppression under which he had made the Syracusans to groan, he exhorted all present instantly to assert their liberty. But Pharacides the Lacedemonian, who commanded the fleet, standing up next, desired the assembly to advert, that his countrymen had sent him thither to assist the Syracusans and Dionysius, not to make war on Dionysius. This speech cooled the ardour of the conspirators, and threw them into great consternation; for they did not doubt that Dionysius would very speedily make them feel the effects of his resentment. But they were happily mistaken. Dionysius had already learned, by experience, that severe measures tended rather to irritate than to reclaim; and had resolved for the future to endeavour to make himself to be beloved, and not feared, by his subjects. On this occasion there-

fore, he studied, by a mild and complaisant behaviour, and by the force of presents, to gain the affection of the people, even going so far as to invite several of them to eat at his table.

The affairs of the Carthaginians were now in a very bad situation, the plague having broken out in their army. The Syracusans, taking advantage of this unhappy circumstance, attacked them by sea and land, threw them into the greatest disorder, sunk many of their ships, and made a dreadful slaughter in their camp. Imilco, desirous of saving the remains of his troops, offered Dionysius a great sum of money for permission to depart in peace with such of his ships and soldiers as yet remained. But Dionysius refused to grant such permission, except so far as regarded the natives of Carthage alone. Imilco therefore being obliged to leave the rest behind, the Syracusans, the following night, again attacked the camp of the miserable barbarians, who, finding themselves betrayed by Imilco, betook themselves to flight, but were mostly cut in pieces by the Syracusans. Thus was humbled the pride of the Carthaginians, at the very time when they entertained the most sanguine hopes of subduing the whole island of Sicily.

Though the Carthaginians were now dispersed, and quiet was thereby restored to Syracuse; yet Dionysius was far from enjoying the general calm, living in constant dread of attempts against his life. As he distrusted the foreign troops in his service he placed them in Leontium, and committed the care of his person to a troop of slaves whom he had set at liberty.

It was about this time that the Gauls, who had lately burnt Rome, sent ambassadors to make an alliance with Dionysius, who happened then to be in Italy. Having there gained a great victory over the Greeks of that country, and taken many of them prisoners, Dionysius set them all at liberty without ransom; and by that act of generosity made so many firm and zealous friends of them.

Dionysius entertained a violent resentment against the inhabitants of Rhegium, for the provoking answer they had returned, when he begged of them to give him some lady of their city to be his wife. They told his ambassador, that they could let him have no other than the daughter of their public executioner, who, if he pleased, was at his service. In revenge, Dionysius laid seige to their city. The besieged, finding themselves unable to resist him, proposed terms of capitulation. But Dionysius intending to ruin them entirely, refused to raise the siege, except on condition of their paying him a sum amounting to nearly L.80,000 Sterling; of their delivering up to him all their ships; and of their putting into his hands 100 hostages. After having by these means disabled them from making any great resistance, he contrived some pretence for attacking them anew the following year, when he again besieged their city. The inhabitants, perceiving that the tyrant aimed at nothing less than their utter destruction, defended themselves with great obstinacy. But after sustaining the siege for eleven months, being at last reduced to all the horrors of famine, they were forced to surrender at discretion. By this time the inhabitants were half dead of hunger, and presented the most meagre ghastly figures imaginable. Dionysius made 6000 of them prisoners, and obliged such of them as had any money or effects remaining, to pay him a ransom. But his cruelty did not stop there. He resolved to take vengeance on Phyton the chief magistrate of the town, for the brave defence he had made. He therefore caused the son of that gallant officer to be thrown headlong into the sea in his father's sight; and then ordered the father himself to be whipped through the town, to be insulted in the most shocking manner, and then to be thrown into the sea likewise.

The extraordinary passion of Dionysius for poetry and the Belles Lettres has been particularly no-

ticed by historians ; who tell us, that he took great delight in the conversation of men of genius, and was remarkably fond of the arts and sciences. So far, no doubt, his taste was highly commendable. But he carried his love of poetry to a ridiculous height ; affecting to compose himself, without possessing any of the requisite talents ; and discovering greater joy at having written a few stupid verses, than at obtaining the most important victory. It is hardly possible to carry this species of folly to a higher pitch than Dionysius did. He employed his time in composing tragedies, insisted that his pieces should be called excellent, and would suffer no competitor on that point. So that he may be said to have exercised his tyranny even over the mind. For a man of his rank to imagine that his honour was concerned in being accounted a fine poet, was certainly an instance of folly greatly to be pitied ; and he surely did not reflect, that some talents, which are highly estimable in a private person, may ill become a prince, especially if he piques himself on excelling in them. As all courts abound in flatterers, Dionysius found many persons about his, who encouraged his ridiculous vanity in this particular, by bestowing the most extravagant encomiums on all his poetical productions.

But not satisfied with being thought the best poet in his own kingdom, he desired that his fame might be spread abroad ; and for that purpose dispatched his brother Thearides to the Olympic games, to contend in his name for the prize of poetry, and of the chariot races ; that his merit in the poetical way might be published in that great assembly of all the Greeks. But the success was very far from answering his expectations. For though his brother pitched on a man of a most agreeable voice, and who was very skilful at bestowing on verses all the graces of elocution, to read the poems of Dionysius, yet the audience quickly discovered their real merit, hissed without ceremony those mi-

serable compositions, and were very merry at the expence of the poetical talents of Dionysius. Nor was he more fortunate in his chariot races. His horses, being as unskilful in that exercise as their master was in the art of poetry, ran on with an ungovernable impetuosity, and broke the chariot in pieces against the goal.

The unfavourable reception of his poems at the Olympic games by no means cured Dionysius of his folly. He believed himself to be as excellent a poet as ever. His conceit on this point was so extravagant, that it was not only very dangerous for any person to censure his compositions, but even not to appear full of admiration when he read them. In this respect his courtiers perfectly complied with his humour. But he was one day so provoked at the poet Philoxenus, for declaring his sentiments too freely about one of his pieces, that he ordered him to be thrown into prison. In consequence, however, of the earnest intercession of all the first people at court, the honest poet was soon released from his confinement. Dionysius being extremely desirous of procuring the approbation of his brother poet, insisted with Philoxenus the very day he was set at liberty, when he happened to be at table with him, to give his opinion of what he esteemed his best piece. But Philoxenus, who was incapable of flattery, instead of answering Dionysius, addressed himself to his guards, crying out "Come, carry me back to the quarries;" the name of the public prison. The prince perceived the meaning of these words; but restrained his anger, and ceased to urge Philoxenus any farther.

The passion of Dionysius for composing increased daily; and is said to have again sent some of his verses to the Olympic games, where they met with the same reception as the former. The news of this disgrace threw him into a kind of fury, which he vented on some of his best friends, whom he accused of combining with those who had ruined his

reputation ; and he even put several of them to death. To divert his uneasiness, he resolved to undertake some new expedition, which might likewise procure him money to supply the expence of the public works he was carrying on about the city and harbour of Syracuse. He therefore formed a plan of attacking Epirus, in the hopes of getting possession of the immense riches deposited in the temple of Dodona ; and he began with an invasion of Tuscany, where he plundered a very rich temple. But he seems to have proceeded no further in that enterprise. Afterwards he made several attempts to drive the Carthaginians entirely out of Sicily ; but was unsuccessful, for he lost a battle, which put an end to all his projects on that head. He was, however, amply consoled for this misfortune, by the prize adjudged him by the Athenians, for one of his tragedies represented at some of their festivals. This is a proof that Dionysius, by his unwearied application to poetry, had at length arrived at some eminence in that profession. The news of this success gave him so much pleasure, that he resolved the whole city should share in it ; and for that purpose he ordered public rejoicings. He likewise gave a most magnificent feast on the occasion to his friends ; but in the height of his joy, he eat and drank
372. to such excess as brought on a surfeit, whereof he died in a few days, after a reign of thirty-eight years.

It cannot be disputed that Dionysius was an artful politician and a brave commander. But his ambition and his cruelty reflect great dishonour on his memory. He showed himself on many occasions to be a man absolutely void of all religion ; and seemed to insult the gods by the pleasantries with which he accompanied his sacrilegious acts. As he was one day plundering a temple of Jupiter, a cloak of gold placed on the statue of that god having attracted his notice, he immediately ordered it to be taken away ; saying, that such a cloak was too heavy for

summer, and too cold for winter ; and he ordered a woollen one to be put in its place, which he said was convenient for all seasons. He jested in the same manner on the golden beard of Esculapius, which he likewise took away ; observing, that it was improper for the son of Apollo to have a beard, while his father was without one. As the silver tables which he found in the temple bore this inscription, “To the good gods,” he used to say, that it was but just to profit by their goodness. He even boasted of his impiety ; for Cicero tells us, that as Dionysius was once returning with a favourable wind to Syracuse, after plundering the temple of Proserpine at Locri, he desired his friends to observe “what a favourable voyage the gods bestowed on the impious !”

Dionysius paid very dear for his dignity and sovereign power, by the constant apprehension in which he lived. To secure his life, he had recourse to the most extraordinary precautions. History takes notice of some of those. We are informed, for example, that he always wore a coat of mail under his robe : and that he spoke to the people of Syracuse from the top of a tower. Hearing that his barber boasted of having permission to put his razor on the tyrant’s throat, he caused him to be put to death, and obliged his own daughters to shave him. But when they were grown up, thinking it unsafe to trust the razor even in their hands, he found out the expedient of singeing his beard with nut-shells. His bed was surrounded by a wide and deep ditch, over which was a draw-bridge ; and every night, after carefully examining all the corners of his chamber, and properly securing the door, he used to remove the draw-bridge before retiring to rest. His treatment of Damocles, who used to tell him that he was the happiest man in the world, is well known. He desired him to sit down at a table covered with the most magnificent and delicate dishes, in a chamber filled with the sweetest perfumes,

where he was attended by a number of slaves ready to obey the smallest signal ; but behold, directly above his head hung a naked sword by a single hair ! Could there in effect be a more lively image of the situation of a tyrant ? But it is fit to observe, that Dionysius took these extraordinary methods to secure his life only in the beginning of his reign, and before his power was firmly established, when alarmed by daily conspiracies. Afterwards he conversed with his subjects in the most open and familiar manner ; and was always of easy access to every body.

Dionysius the younger was the son of Dionysius the elder, by Doris of Locri. The Syracusans, now of a long while accustomed to subjection, admitted him peaceably to assume the sovereign power that had been enjoyed by his father, who, it must be acknowledged, had rescued Sicily from the Carthaginian yoke, and had greatly augmented the naval strength of the Syracusans. But the son was as peaceably disposed as the father had been active and enterprising, less indeed from wisdom and moderation than from his natural indolence.

In the beginning of his reign, Dion, of whom we have made some mention already, thought it his duty, as brother-in-law to the father, to assist the son with his service and counsel ; and therefore offered to take the command of an expedition into Africa, to divert the storm with which the Carthaginians were threatening Sicily. This proposal of Dion was by no means relished by the other courtiers by whom he was envied and disliked : A striking instance of a very general truth, that a man at court is not always at liberty to do the good he desires. Perhaps this maxim held more true at the court of Dionysius than at any other. For it was composed of a parcel of young debauchees, who studied to keep that prince immersed in effeminacy and sloth, and wholly employed in the most shameful pleasures. We are told that sometimes they

would keep their young prince engaged in an unintermitting scene of riot and intoxication for months together. These courtiers practised, therefore, every art to exasperate Dionysius against Dion, whom they represented as an impertinent censurer and a misanthrope. It is true, indeed, that Dion was a man of a very stoical and austere character; and that his most intimate friends complained of the severity of his temper. This did not, however, prevent him from being highly esteemed on account of his great abilities and the superiority of his understanding. Dion thought, that the most essential service he could at present render, either to his country or to his prince, was to cultivate the understanding of Dionysius; who, though his education had been much neglected, was not void of parts. He studied therefore to inspire him with just ideas of virtue, honour, and the other most important duties of life; and to connect him with men of genius and integrity, who might instruct him in an agreeable manner, and as it were by stealth. Dion began this commendable work with giving Dionysius a very advantageous account of the fine parts of Plato, at that time in great renown, describing him not only as a man of wonderful genius, but as a most agreeable companion, and a profound statesman. By these means he inspired Dionysius with an earnest desire to be acquainted with that excellent philosopher.

Dionysius accordingly dispatched several messengers to invite the philosopher to his court. But Plato, who was not ignorant of that prince's real character, was extremely backward to comply with this invitation, from a belief that his lessons would have but little effect upon him. Dion at last, who had been a scholar of the philosopher's, was obliged to join his request to that of the prince; and he showed Plato so clearly the great need in which Dionysius stood of his instructions, that he at last consented to undertake the journey, and according-

ly set out for Sicily. Dionysius received the philosopher with every mark of honour and respect, and treated him with the greatest kindness. A wise prince cannot indeed put too high a value upon a man capable of instructing him in his duty, and of telling him the truth. The possession of such a man is a treasure of inestimable value.

Plato assiduously applied himself to fulfil the business for which he had come into Sicily ; and by his mild and insinuating behaviour soon gained the confidence of Dionysius, inspired him with a love of virtue, and made him sensible how unworthy his past conduct had been of a king, who ought to be uniformly employed about the happiness of his people. His inclinations, therefore, took a different turn, and he now studied nothing so much as to be acquainted with his duty. Capable at length of distinguishing men of genius, he took no pleasure in any other company ; and from the conversation of such men, he soon learned several of the most valuable branches of knowledge. His courtiers, a set of men who apply themselves principally to copy after their master, quickly followed his example ; by which means the study of arts and sciences became the reigning taste at the court of Dionysius. That prince, contracting insensibly the habit of reflection, employed his attention about the duties of royalty ; and for that purpose applied himself to the study of history, which furnished him with many examples of princes who had excelled both in the science and in the practical part likewise of government.

The courtiers were not alarmed while Dionysius confined himself to the study of the sciences. But perceiving that, in conformity with the lessons of Plato, he had resolved to discharge the duties of his station himself, and to examine every thing by the rules of his own judgment. they began to dread his becoming too clear-sighted, and therefore exerted their utmost efforts to break off his intercourse

with Plato. They, in the first place, openly declared their suspicion, that a design was formed of inspiring him with a love of philosophy, to give him a disgust at the crown; insinuating that Dion would not be displeased to advance to the regal dignity, in his place, one of his nephews, sons of the late king by his sister Aristomache. They next endeavoured to depreciate Plato in the opinion of Dionysius, telling him, that the philosopher studied to acquire an unbecoming ascendant over him; and that he engaged him in a course of life unsuitable to his rank and to his years: and lastly, to render Dion suspected, they advised him to take measures for the security of his throne and life.

These, and many other insinuations of the same kind, had but too great an effect on the weak mind of Dionysius, and soon rendered him extremely suspicious. Having so far gained their point, the courtiers, to complete their design, next put in practice a most abominable imposture, by forging letters in the name of Dion to the Carthaginian ambassadors, advising the ambassadors, when they had a mind to treat with Dionysius, to call him, Dion, to assist at the conferences, because he could be of service in procuring them a more advantageous and durable peace. These letters having been secretly shown to Dionysius, were to him sufficient evidence against Dion, whom he ordered to be immediately apprehended and carried to Italy. These orders
372. were punctually executed.—Dion appearing a little while after in the Peloponnesus, all his money and effects, to a very considerable amount, were, by permission of the tyrant, sent thither to him by his relations.

Dionysius next desired Plato to remove to the citadel, under pretence of doing him honour, but in reality to prevent his following Dion. For, according to Plutarch, that prince entertained a sort of tyrannical regard for Plato, desiring to engross his whole affection himself, and unwilling that the phi-

philosopher should esteem Dion more than him. A war breaking out about this time against Dionysius, very luckily furnished Plato with a plausible pretext for desiring to be sent back to Greece. Dionysius, at taking leave, pressed him to accept of many valuable presents, which, however, the philosopher obstinately refused.

As Plato was returning on this occasion to his native country, he happened at Olympia to fall in with certain foreigners, among whom he lodged for some time. Though the philosopher told them his name on their first meeting, the foreigners, from his plain unaffected behaviour and conversation, were far from suspecting that he was the famous Plato, of whom they had heard such extraordinary things. This is a very striking proof of the singular modesty of Plato, and plainly shows us, that he was far from making a parade of his knowledge, or of agitating in common conversation any of the questions handled by him in the academy. But on the present occasion his self-love was amply recompensed; for these foreigners having accompanied him to Athens, and lodged for some time in his house, at last begged the favour of him to introduce them to the celebrated philosopher of his name. Plato then finding it impossible to conceal himself any longer, told them, smiling, that he himself was the man whom they desired so much to know.

Dion having gone to live some time at Athens, applied himself diligently to the study of philosophy, and contracted an intimate friendship with the philosopher Speusippus, the nephew and scholar of Plato, a man who knew perfectly well how to unite the purest principles of philosophy with the ease and politeness of common life.

Dion, while at Athens, defrayed the expence of the public games, which it fell to Plato's turn to exhibit. He afterwards visited several other of the cities of Greece, studying by all means to cultivate the acquaintance and conversation of such of the ci-

tizens as were best acquainted with the nature of the constitution of each particular state ; and he was every where received with the highest marks of distinction.

Dionysius, apprehensive lest Plato, on his departure, should depreciate him in the opinion of the Greeks, invited to his court the most learned men of Italy, in order to show that he still retained his love of letters. With those Italian literati he affected to hold frequent conversations ; in which he took every opportunity to display his own learning, by repeating the lessons he had received from Plato on various subjects of philosophy. But his stock was soon exhausted. Sensible now, by experience, of the advantages he had derived from the society of Plato, he grew very desirous of prevailing on that philosopher to return to court, and practised every means for that effect.

Dionysius wrote to all his acquaintance, and, among the rest, even to Dion himself, intreating them to use their endeavours to persuade Plato to gratify his desire of another visit from him ; and Plato at last was prevailed on, though with the utmost reluctance, to comply with his request. I doubt the behaviour of that celebrated philosopher may not in this instance appear altogether so prudent as from his character might have been expected. Two galleys were dispatched by Dionysius to bring Plato to Syracuse ; where, as soon as he arrived, that prince treated him with all imaginable respect, and made him his principal confidant. But Plato, zealous to effect the recal of Dion, which Dionysius had previously engaged to grant, began to urge that subject, and pressed it on several different occasions ; but Dionysius as often declined, under various pretences, to comply with his desire. This behaviour quickly produced a misunderstanding between the prince and the philosopher ; but both were careful to conceal their real sentiments from the world. At last, however, Dionysius, unable to restrain himself

any longer, ordered all the lands belonging to Dion to be sold, and applied the price of them to his own use. Then he commanded lodgings to be provided for Plato without the castle, and among the guards, to whom the philosopher was very obnoxious, on account of his frequent exhortations to Dionysius to dismiss them, and to renounce the tyranny. Plato, perceiving that his life was now in danger, made earnest application for leave to return to Greece; which at last he was happy enough to obtain. Dionysius, deprived of the wise counsels of that admirable philosopher, returned by degrees to his former life; and his court very soon became the residence of dissipation and riot.

Dion hearing that the tyrant had sold his possessions, and had so treacherously broken his promise, openly proclaimed his resentment, and resolved to punish him by force of arms. To this he was warmly urged by the Syracusans, who intreated him to come to their relief; and assured him, that the whole city would join him as soon as he should make his appearance among them. Dion therefore privately enlisted about 800 foreign troops, all hardy veterans, completely armed; embarked them at different times, and in small parties, and fixed on the island of Zacinthia as the place of general rendezvous. The historian who has related this enterprise, justly observes, that it was one of the most daring that could well be imagined. It is truly amazing, that a man with no more than two transports, and 800 soldiers, should venture to attack a prince supported by a navy of 400 ships of war, an army of 10,000 men, a vast quantity of warlike stores and provisions, and who was sovereign of one of the strongest cities then in the world.

Dion having landed at Minoa, a small town in Sicily, to refresh himself and his soldiers after the fatigue of the voyage, was informed, that Dionysius was then absent from Syracuse, and had undertaken an expedition towards the coast of Italy, at-

tended by 80 galleys. His soldiers thereupon immediately desired to be led directly to Syracuse. The news of his arrival having spread abroad, his small army was greatly increased in its march; and on his arriving within half a league of the city, he found himself at the head of about 5000 men. The most considerable citizens went out to meet, and to conduct him into the city; and the populace tore in pieces those infamous creatures of the tyrant who had served him as spies and informers.

Dion entered Syracuse at the head of his army drawn up in battle array; attended by his brother Megacles on the one hand, and by the Athenian Callipus on the other. He immediately ordered the Syracusans to be informed, by public proclamation, that he and his brother were come to deliver them, and all the inhabitants of Sicily, from slavery and tyranny; and mounting an eminence, he made them a speech, exhorting them to exert their utmost efforts for the recovery of their liberty. The Syracusans named him and his brother commanders-in-chief, with sovereign authority.

Dionysius having returned soon after, and entered the citadel from the sea, the Syracusans instantly took arms. The tyrant, thinking his affairs desperate, sent ambassadors to treat with Dion and the Syracusans; who returned for answer, That before they would listen to any proposals he must abdicate the tyranny. Divers conferences having ensued upon that subject, Dionysius endeavoured to protract them as much as possible, that he might have time to concert proper measures; and at last he took a convenient opportunity to make a sudden attack upon the wall with which the enemy had surrounded the citadel. The Syracusans, who guarded that post, seized with a panic at the suddenness of the attack, betook themselves to flight. Dion advancing in great haste to the place, used his utmost endeavours to rally his soldiers, but in vain. Throwing himself, however, into the midst of the

enemy, he made a dreadful slaughter of them. But his courage urging him too far, he was wounded in the hand, thrown down, and with difficulty rescued by his soldiers out of the midst of the tyrant's men. As his wound was not dangerous, he instantly ran in quest of his foreign troops, who were in Acradina, and led them on to the charge. These being all well disciplined veteran soldiers, made a vigorous attack on the troops of Dionysius, already fatigued by the engagement, cut in pieces the greatest part of them, and put the rest to flight.

Dionysius, alarmed at this victory of Dion, sent him letters, by a herald, so artfully and maliciously expressed, as to create suspicions among the Syracusans, of their having reposed too high an authority in Dion. The Syracusans fell into the snare. Forgetting, at once, all the important services performed by Dion for their advantage, they gave credit to the injurious insinuations of the tyrant. In these circumstances, Heraclides, one of the banished citizens, arrived at Syracuse with seven vessels, to assist his countrymen against Dionysius. Heraclides was a man of great bravery, and of an insinuating address; but secretly an enemy of Dion, by whose evil genius he seemed to have been, at this critical time, conducted to Syracuse, to throw a thousand obstacles in the way of that great man, and to obscure the glory of his actions.

Heraclides, immediately on his arrival, was, by the Syracusans, created high admiral of their fleet; and though he openly behaved to Dion with great respect and deference, yet he laboured underhand to prepossess the people against him, and gave a malicious interpretation to all his actions. Dionysius, in the mean time, offered to Dion, to deliver up the citadel, together with the troops, arms, and every thing else contained in it, if the Syracusans would permit him to retire in peace to Italy, and allow him the revenue of certain lands for his subsistence. These terms having been rejected by the Syracu-

sans, Dionysius soon after took the opportunity of a favourable wind to set sail for Italy, with all his treasures and most valuable effects, committing the defence of the citadel to his son Apollodorus.

As soon as the flight of Dionysius was known, Heraclides proposed, in the public assembly, to make a new distribution of the lands belonging to the city. But this proposal being opposed by Dion, the Syracusans were further confirmed in their unjust suspicions of him; and no longer setting any bounds to their ingratitude, they tampered with the foreign troops to induce them to abandon Dion. But these foreigners, far more faithful to their commander than his own countrymen, for whom he had performed such important services, rejected their proposals, and throwing themselves round Dion, resolved to convey him safely out of the city. Dion, extending his arms, used the most affecting gestures, to move the compassion of his fellow-citizens. But perceiving all his intreaties to be ineffectual, and dreading lest outrage might succeed to ingratitude, he ordered his troops to march in very close ranks, and like men prepared to attack their enemies. Dion, after escaping in this manner from Syracuse, took refuge among the Leontines, who received him with much kindness and humanity.

The soldiers of the tyrant being, in the mean time, extremely harassed by famine, were on the point of delivering up the citadel to the Syracusans. But Nipsius arriving with supplies of corn and other provisions from Dionysius, they altered their resolution, and resolved to continue the defence of the citadel. The Syracusans, manning their galleys, attacked the fleet of Nipsius, and sunk several of his ships. Elated with this success, they gave themselves up to rejoicing and debauchery, disregarding the admonitions of their commanders, who warned them of their danger. Nipsius, informed of what was passing, seized the wall that surrounded the citadel, and dispatched his troops into the city with

permission to pillage it. The soldiers attack all that come in their way, murder the citizens, plunder their houses, and commit a thousand disorders.

The Syracusans, in this extremity, seeing no other remedy to their misfortunes than the recalling of Dion, sent him deputies, who, throwing themselves in tears at his feet, implore his assistance. We should at first imagine, that Dion, on this occasion, would be inexorable, and justly tell the Syracusans, that they merited their present sufferings. But the soul of Dion was superior to such sentiments. He received the deputies very kindly; and moved both by the miseries of his fellow-citizens, and by the intreaties of his foreign troops, he marched without delay to Syracuse. Nipsius, informed of his coming, made a second irruption into the town, which produced the same murders and disorders as before; and, to complete the destruction of the city, the soldiers of Nipsius set fire to it in several places, whereby many houses were consumed.

Such was the situation of things when Dion arrived at Syracuse. Immediately drawing up his troops in order of battle, and dividing them into small parties, he entered the city, and marched against the enemy amid the most joyful shouts of the inhabitants, who hailed him, as he went along, as their deliverer. After leading his soldiers through the streets, surrounded with flames, he at last reached the enemy; who, seeing the Syracusans on the point of being revenged on them by the means of Dion, were animated with rage and despair. But the soldiers of Dion, encouraged by the shouts of the inhabitants, made a most vigorous attack on the troops of Nipsius, who were entrenched near the wall that surrounded the citadel, forced their entrenchments, killed the greatest part of them, and obliged the rest to fly for refuge to the citadel. The remaining part of the night was employed by the Syracusans in extinguishing the flames.

Next day, the friends of Dion endeavoured to persuade him to take vengeance on his enemies, and particularly on Heraclides; who, instigated by the blackest malice, had been principally instrumental in stirring up his countrymen against him. But that great man, who was superior to all motives of revenge, told them, that during his long residence in the academy, he had learnt to subdue his passions; and that the surest mark of this important victory, was to behave with humanity and forgiveness towards those by whom we are injured.

Then he employed both the Syracusans and his soldiers to throw up a strong palisado around the citadel. The Syracusans again elected him generalissimo; and Heraclides, unable to remain in quite, recommenced his cabals against Dion. But all his malicious attempts proved abortive.

The siege of the citadel being warmly pressed by Dion, the garrison grew mutinous for want of provisions, and forced the son of Dionysius, by whom they were then commanded, to capitulate: who, after delivering up the citadel, with all the warlike stores within it, to Dion, embarked together with his mother and sisters, on board of five galleys, and sailed in quest of his father. Dion found his wife Arete in the citadel; and their meeting, after so long a separation, was most affectionate and tender. Then he very generously rewarded those who had fought on his side, proportioning his rewards to the merit and rank of each.

Thus did Dion restore her ancient liberty to Syracuse. The fame of this revolution having quickly spread over all Greece, and reached even to Carthage, Dion was ranked with the wisest and most successful commanders. But this great man, amidst all his glory, and while even Plato himself was writing him that the eyes of the whole earth were fixed on him as the successful champion of liberty, still retained his former modesty and simplicity.

Dion proposed to establish at Syracuse the aris-

tocratical form of government. But Heraclides persisting in his seditious practices, and studying to gain, by every means, the favour of the multitude, resolved to oppose this design. Dion, perceiving that there would be no end to dissensions and troubles in the city while Heraclides was alive, consented to the urgent remonstrances of his friends, to have that factious man assassinated. But Dion is said to have felt so severe remorse for having given his consent to the murder of Heraclides, that thenceforward his tranquillity entirely deserted him, and he sunk into the deepest melancholy; which was still further heightened by the death of his favourite son, which happened soon after.

Callipus, an Athenian, a man of a most ambitious disposition, had conceived the design of making himself master of Syracuse. But perceiving that he could never succeed in his project while Dion was alive, he resolved to have that worthy patriot murdered, though he had formerly lived in very intimate friendship with him. For that purpose, he contrived means to get some Zacynthian soldiers admitted into the house of Dion, who
356. was murdered by them in his bed. Immediately afterwards Aristomache, the sister of Dion, and widow of the elder Dionysius, and Arete the wife of Dion, were seized by Icetas the Syracusan, a man in the interests of Callipus, were thrown into prison, and soon after, by the influence of the same Callipus, were drowned in the sea.

Callipus enjoyed but a short while the fruits of his villany. For though he got possession of Syracuse, and exercised the sovereign power for the space of a year; yet having marched out of the city to lay siege to Catana, the Syracusans took the opportunity of his absence to shake off his yoke: and the report of his crime having spread over all Sicily, he became every where an object of detestation. Hipparinus, the brother of the younger Dionysius, arriving in the mean time, at Syracuse

with a fleet and a considerable body of troops, destroyed all the hopes of Callipus in that city, and governed the inhabitants with despotic sway for the space of two years. At last, by a just effect of Providence, which sooner or later punishes the wickedness of men, Callipus was put to death by Polisperchon.

The most distinguishing features of Dion's character were, his elevated sentiments; his bravery; his extensive genius, equal to the greatest and boldest undertakings; his unshaken attachment to the real interests of his country; and, above all, his singular generosity, which induced him to forgive the ingratitude of the Syracusans, for whom he had performed the most essential services. and once more cheerfully to expose his life in order to restore their liberty. On the whole, Dion was, so far as we know, the greatest man that ever Sicily produced, and deserves to be ranked with the first characters even of Greece. It is, however, proper to remark, that he had a severity and obstinacy in his disposition, which is extremely inconvenient in those who meddle in the public affairs of a popular government, where a mild insinuating behaviour is necessary for managing the minds of the multitude.

The space from the commencement of the tyranny of Dionysius the elder, to the death of Dion, comprehends about fifty years.

Dionysius the younger, hearing that Syracuse was distracted by factions, thought the opportunity favourable for his attempting once more to assert his rights. With that view, having hired some

foreign troops, he returned to Syracuse, after
350 a ten years' absence; expelled Nypsius, who

happened to be then in possession of the sovereign power, and remounted the throne. Though his past misfortunes might have taught him to behave with more moderation for the future, yet he oppressed his subjects more cruelly than ever. The Syracusans, exasperated by his rigorous tyranny

implored relief of Icetas king of the Leontines, whom they chose for their general. But the Carthaginians about this time having invaded Sicily with a powerful fleet, made so rapid a progress, that the Syracusans were obliged to apply for assistance to the Corinthians. These republicans, naturally enemies to tyranny, and strongly attached to Syracuse, from the consideration of its being one of their earliest colonies, resolved to support them, and pitched on Timoleon, a man considerably advanced in years, but an excellent general, to command their troops which they intended to send to Sicily.

Timoleon was then living extremely retired, and oppressed with melancholy and grief, occasioned by the following incident. His elder brother Timophanes, for whom he entertained a strong affection, having made himself tyrant of Corinth, Timoleon was extremely grieved at his conduct; and to induce him to renounce his sovereignty, employed every motive and argument that friendship or affection could suggest. But these proving ineffectual, he proceeded even to threats. All however was to no purpose. At last the love of his country prevailing over the ties of blood, Timoleon resolved to have his brother assassinated. With this view, he demanded another conference with Timophanes, wherein he repeated in the most affecting manner all his former arguments; but seeing him obstinate, he burst into tears, and, covering his face with his cloak, the assassins immediately dispatched the tyrant. At first this action was praised as the utmost effort of patriotism and virtue; but afterwards it came to be considered as a most cruel and unnatural murder. Timoleon, therefore was tormented with the most bitter remorse, which was heightened by the constant reproaches of his mother. Distracted with sorrow, he resolved to put an end to his life; and it was with the greatest difficulty that his friends diverted him from this desperate purpose. Yielding however at last to their remonstrances, he,

retired to the country, and for twelve years lived in the deepest solitude. But having been at length persuaded to return to Corinth, he received the command of the troops destined for Sicily.

Icetas, in the mean time, hearing of the preparations making by the Corinthians for the relief of the Syracusans, was base enough to betray the latter, and to make an agreement with the Carthaginians, who engaged to raise him to the sovereignty of Syracuse after the expulsion of Dionysius should be effected. Icetas at the same time sent the Corinthians word, that having despaired of Timoleon's coming, he had prevailed with the Carthaginians to assist him. The Corinthians, suspecting his treachery, hastened the departure of Timoleon with ten galleys. Timoleon, on landing in Sicily, received intelligence, that Icetas had defeated Dionysius, and that the Carthaginians were making dispositions for preventing him and the Corinthian troops from entering Syracuse. This intelligence proved true; for they had dispatched twenty galleys to Rhegium to oppose his advancing. Timoleon therefore was under the necessity either of hazarding an engagement with his slender army against an enemy twice as numerous, or of permitting Icetas quietly to reap the fruits of his treachery, and to assume the sovereignty of Syracuse.

Timoleon having, by the intercession of the people of Rhegium, who wished well to his cause, obtained a conference with the Carthaginian commanders, amused them with various proposals, to gain time till his galleys had passed the Carthaginian fleet, and were out of all danger of being intercepted. Then Timoleon broke off the conference, and soon came up with his galleys. Icetas, who was then master of the city, and kept Dionysius blocked up in the citadel, hearing of Timoleon's arrival, assembled all the Carthaginian forces, consisting, as is reported, of 150 ships, 50,000 infantry,

and 300 armed chariots. The whole army of Timoleon amounted to no more than 12,000 men.

Things were in this situation when the inhabitants of Adrana, a small city of Sicily, having quarrelled among themselves, one of the factions sided with Ictas and the other with Timoleon. The Carthaginians hearing of this, dispatched 5000 men to Adrana. But just as these troops arrived, and were busy forming their camp, Timoleon with his small army suddenly attacked them, put them to flight, killed 300 of them, and took possession of their camp. The Adranites immediately opened their gates to the conqueror; and Dionysius, hearing of Timoleon's success, sent him word, that he was resolved to surrender himself to the Corinthians, and to put them in possession of the citadel. Timoleon accordingly contrived to throw 400 men into the citadel by night, who were by Dionysius put in possession of all its warlike stores, and reinforced by a 1000 men who yet remained in his service; after which the tyrant went on board of a ship, arrived at the Corinthian camp, and was by Timoleon sent to Corinth.

347. The arrival of Dionysius at that city afforded an agreeable show to the inhabitants; who, from their violent hatred of tyranny, were delighted to see a man debased from the rank of a prince to that of a private gentleman. The mean behaviour of Dionysius rendered him still more contemptible; for he passed the day in taverns, in the company of sots and drunkards. Here we have a striking instance of the extraordinary vicissitudes of human affairs. Dionysius, bred in the midst of opulence, was at last reduced to the most extreme poverty; and after being sovereign of a very powerful people, ended his days in the station of a schoolmaster. Perhaps, says Cicero jesting, being unable to live without exercising government, he chose to exert his authority over a parcel of boys instead of a great nation.

Icetas in the mean time used his utmost efforts to reduce the citadel, and was extremely attentive to prevent the arrival of any reinforcement from Timoleon. But in his absence Leon, who commanded in the citadel, made a sally on the troops left before it by Icetas, killed many of them, and took possession of Acradina. Timoleon on the other hand, receiving a reinforcement from Corinth, eluded the vigilance of the Carthaginian galleys, took Messina, and then advanced towards Syracuse with no more than 4000 men. In the mean time he employed proper persons to tamper with the soldiers of Icetas; to labour to impress them with the idea of its being disgraceful in Sicilians to expose their lives in subjecting their native country to the yoke of the Carthaginians, who had always shown themselves to be their inveterate enemies; and to assure them, that if Icetas could be persuaded to join Timoleon, the Carthaginians, by their joint efforts, might be very soon totally expelled from Sicily. These reports reaching the ears of Mago the Carthaginian general, he thought himself betrayed; and, in spite of the remonstrances of Icetas, embarked with his troops for Africa.

Timoleon, thus freed from the Carthaginians, attacked, the day after their departure, the city of Syracuse on three different sides, and with such success that the troops of Icetas were put to flight, and the city was taken on the first assault, without the loss of a single Corinthian. As soon as tranquillity was restored in the city, Timoleon convinced the Syracusans of the necessity of demolishing the citadel, which he called the tyrant's nest. In compliance with this advice, all the fortifications, together with the palaces of both the Dionysiiuses, were in a few days levelled with the ground.

Timoleon, perceiving that Syracuse, by its intestine commotions and its wars with the Carthaginians, was in a great measure depopulated, ordered

proclamation to be made through all Greece, that liberty being now restored to Syracuse, every person who inclined to go thither to settle should receive a proportion of the lands belonging to the city equal to that of the natives of the city of the same rank. In consequence of this proclamation, a new colony of Greeks, amounting to 60,000 souls, quickly arrived at Syracuse. The behaviour of Timoleon on this occasion is truly admirable; for he preferred the honour of being the restorer of Syracuse to that of being its king. After distributing the lands, he sold by auction all the statues that had belonged to the tyrants.

But desirous of totally rooting tyranny out of Sicily, he led his troops against Icetas; obliged him to renounce his alliance with the Carthaginians, and to demolish all the castles and forts in his possession. Having thus reduced him to the station of a private man, he sent him to Corinth. He used Leptinus tyrant of Apollonia in the same manner. Having successfully accomplished these undertakings, he returned to Syracuse, and applied himself to establish good laws, and to enforce the observance of them.

But more laurels were still reserved for him in the fields of Mars. The Carthaginians again invaded Sicily with a fleet of 200 ships and 70,000 men, under the command of Hamilcar and Hasdrubal, and landed near the promontory of Lilybeum. Timoleon immediately marched against them with an army of no more, as is reported, than 6000 men; and surprising them at the defile of Crimesus, attacked them in flank, while a dreadful storm of lightning and rain suddenly arising, completed their disorder. Timoleon, taking advantage of their consternation, penetrated their ranks with great slaughter, put them to flight, and took 15,000 prisoners, with an immense booty. The number of killed on the side of the Carthaginians is said to have been 13,000.

Timoleon, on returning to Syracuse, put the finishing hand to his laws and regulations. But he was soon after obliged once more to take the field against the Carthaginians: who had invaded the island anew, at the instigation of the tyrants of Catana and Messina, persuaded to that measure by Icetas. But the event of this expedition was even more unfortunate for the Carthaginians than that of the former. Timoleon, to cut off the evil at its source, went in pursuit of Icetas; and having taken him, caused his head to be struck off. Thus was avenged the murder of Dion's wife and sister, put to death, as we have mentioned above, by this seditious man Icetas. This train of success gave the Carthaginians so high an opinion of Timoleon, that they sued to him for peace.

Timoleon, after extinguishing tyranny in every city of Sicily, and completing the great work of reformation in the government of Syracuse, resigned all authority, and reduced himself to the rank of a private citizen. Removing soon after to the country with his wife and children, he passed the remaining part of his life in retirement, enjoying the secret satisfaction of having restored liberty and quiet to all the cities of Sicily.

Some years before his death he became blind. The Syracusans, full of affection and respect for their deliverer, used, by way of consolation for that misfortune, to pay him frequent visits, and to carry him in a chair to the theatre, where his presence excited universal acclamations from the spectators. His funeral was celebrated at the public expence; and the Syracusans established annual rejoicings in honour of his memory. Of all the great men of Greece, Timoleon is perhaps the only one who, satisfied with the success, pursued the proper course for avoiding the ingratitude of his fellow-citizens, and ended his days in tranquillity and peace.

Timoleon possessed all the qualifications of a great general, and a disinterested attachment to the pub-

lic welfare. Cornelius Nepos mentions a circumstance that reflects additional lustre on all his other great qualities. When any person happened in his presence to expatiate in encomiums on his wisdom, his bravery, and the glory he had acquired in having humbled so many tyrants, Timoleon used to answer, that he most sincerely thanked the gods for choosing him, preferably to any other general, as the instrument of their great goodness, in restoring liberty and quiet to Sicily; being firmly persuaded, adds the same historian, that no human event is brought about but by the immediate interposition of the gods: A sentiment worthy of the most enlightened christian.

The liberty restored by Timoleon to Syracuse was but of short duration. Agathocles possessed himself of the supreme power in that city; and behaved with the most shocking cruelty, never hesitating at the greatest crimes. This Agathocles undertook the most daring enterprise recorded in history. Being unable to make head against the Carthaginians, who were carrying every thing before them in Sicily, and were warmly besieging Syracuse itself, he boldly left his own country, carried the war into the dominions of Carthage in Africa, reduced the strongest towns, and laid waste the country. After a great variety of events, in the course of which Agathocles had left Africa, and had given the command there to another person, he again returned thither himself; but finding all his conquests lost, he was obliged to fly to Syracuse. There, too, his ill fortune attended him; for the Syracusans had taken the advantage of his absence to revolt. All his projects being thus ruined, he ended his days in a manner worthy of his crimes.

The Syracusans after this enjoyed for some time the sweets of liberty; but were much harassed by the Carthaginians, who persecuted them with continual wars, and obliged them to call to their assis-

tance Pyrrhus king of Epire, That prince was very successful against their enemies; but other affairs soon carried him from their country.

Upon the departure of Pyrrhus, the Syracusans created Hiero chief magistrate, and afterwards bestowed on him both the title and the power of king. Hiero was successful against the Carthaginians, and enjoyed a very long and peaceable reign.

Hieronymus succeeded Hiero, but reigned only a year. On his death nothing but confusion prevailed in Syracuse. Andranadorus the son-in-law of Hiero seized on the island and citadel. The senate sent deputies to treat with him; and he agreed to submit. But at the instigation of his wife, a woman of a most ambitious spirit, he entered into a conspiracy with Themistes for raising himself to the throne. The conspiracy having been discovered, the conspirators were put to death by order of the magistrates. The people, hearing of their design, were instantly seized with the most ungovernable fury, crying out that the race of tyrants ought to be totally extirpated. A scene of horror ensued, from which we may conceive of what excesses an enraged multitude is capable: They first murdered Demarata the daughter of their late king, and wife of Andranadorus, together with Harmonia the wife of Themistes; then they ran to the house of Heraclea wife of Zoipus; and, deaf to the tears and supplications of that lady, who intreated them to spare her two daughters, whose age was sufficient to move compassion in more feeling bosoms, they first murdered her, and then her daughters, all covered with their mother's blood.

After thus satiating their cruelty, they elected Epicydes and Hippocrates principal magistrates; who being both devoted to the interest of the Carthaginians, laboured to inspire their countrymen with an aversion to the Roman power. The Romans informed of the situation of things in Sicily, and

desirous of making themselves masters of so pleasant and fruitful a country, dispatched thither the consul Marcellus, who had become famous by his success against Hannibal, to endeavour to reduce it. Marcellus on his march towards Syracuse, sent messengers to acquaint the Syracusans that he was advancing with an intention of restoring them to liberty, not to oppress them with war. Epicydes, however, and his colleague Hippocrates, refused to admit him into the city; and told him, with great presumption, that they would make him sensible of the difference betwixt Syracuse and Leontium, a city lately taken by the Roman consul.

Marcellus, provoked at this insulting answer, ordered Appius to attack Syracuse on the land side, at the quarter called Hexapilus, while he himself with sixty galleys, blocked it up by sea on the Acradina quarter. The Syracusans were now in the utmost consternation, thinking it impossible for them to hold out for any considerable time against the Roman power. But one single man, who happened at this time to be shut up in Syracuse, was destined to defeat all the efforts of this formidable enemy, for the space of eight months.

Archimedes, one of the greatest mathematicians of antiquity, was the man of whom we speak. Resolved to attempt every thing for the defence of his country, he put in practice all the resources of his wonderful genius in machinery; and rendered this siege one of the longest and most bloody that ever the Romans undertook. The particulars recorded of the many engines invented by him for frustrating the attacks of the besiegers, and for annoying them in their turn, are so extraordinary and wonderful, as to exceed all credibility, were they not recounted by the gravest and most credible historians. Some of those engines discharged against the Roman infantry stones of an enormous bulk, which crushed in pieces whatever came in their way; and by the havoc they produced, resembled

in some degree those terrible fire-arms since invented by mankind for their mutual destruction. Others let fall such ponderous weights on the Roman galleys, as instantly sunk them. Another engine, more extraordinary still, was so contrived, as with an iron arm of amazing strength to seize a vessel by the prow, to lift her up to a considerable height, and then to let her fall with her whole weight, so as to sink or break her to pieces. Others dashed in pieces the strongest machines of the besiegers.

In this manner did Archimedes baffle, for the space of eight months, all the attacks of the Romans. Of such great use, on some occasions, is a single man of genius and science. Marcellus, wearied out with so long a resistance, turned the siege into a blockade; and leaving Appius before Syracuse, with two-thirds of the army, marched himself into other parts of the island, to reduce some cities to the obedience of the Romans.

The consul employed part of the second year of the siege in various expeditions through the island. But in the mean time, a Carthaginian fleet having found means to convey a supply of provisions into Syracuse, Marcellus, on his return to that city, about the beginning of the third campaign, found things in such a situation, that he began to despair of taking the place. In these circumstances, a Roman soldier having discovered a part of the wall near the gate of Trogilus considerably lower than the rest, and capable of being scaled by ordinary ladders, communicated the discovery to Marcellus; who immediately ordered ladders to be gotten ready, and taking advantage of a feast celebrated by the Syracusans in honour of Diana, commanded a detachment of his bravest soldiers to advance to the place in the dead of night. These quickly scaled the wall, broke open the gate, and took possession of the quarter of the town called Epipolis. The Syracusans, awakened by the noise, began to put them-

selves in a posture of defence. But Marcellus ordering all the trumpets of the Roman army to sound at once, created such an alarm, that the inhabitants were thrown into the utmost consternation, believing the city to be wholly in the hands of the enemy. But the quarter of Acradina was not taken. Epicydes, assembling some troops, resolved to attack Marcellus; but finding his forces too weak, he was forced to retire to Acradina.

It is said that Marcellus, on contemplating from the top of a tower the largeness and beauty of this city, shed tears at the thoughts of the miserable fate it was about to undergo. From the same motive, before proceeding to the attack of Acradina, he sent several officers to exhort the besieged to propose a capitulation, and to prevent the ruin of their city. His remonstrances, however, proving ineffectual, he made the proper dispositions for the siege of Acradina. But a plague breaking out about this time in the city and in the Roman camp, protracted a little longer the fate of Syracuse.

The Carthaginian fleet having in the mean time returned to Sicily, Epicydes endeavoured to persuade Bomilcar, who commanded it, to venture a sea-fight, and to attack Marcellus. The Roman, though inferior in naval strength, resolved not to decline the engagement, and to be by that means blocked up in the harbour of Syracuse. He therefore advanced with his fleet in good order. The Carthaginian general, intimidated by their determined appearance, was afraid to venture a battle, and therefore retired. Epicydes, who had gone out to join the Carthaginian fleet, was seized with despair; and not daring to return to Syracuse, sailed away for Agrigentum.

The inhabitants, confounded at being deserted both by the Carthaginians and by Epicydes, sent ambassadors to Marcellus to treat about capitulating, and to try to prevail with him not to destroy their city entirely. But the Roman deserters, fear-

ing to be delivered up, took arms together with the foreign soldiers, murdered the new magistrates, and resolved to defend the place to the last. In the mean time, one of the chief commanders being gained over by Marcellus, admitted the Romans at night by one of the gates of Acradina. The Syracusans next day threw open all the other gates to Marcellus, and sent ambassadors to beg that he would grant them their lives, which they obtained. But Marcellus, provoked at their perfidy and obstinate resistance, gave up the city to be plundered. The riches found in it by the Romans exceeded their most sanguine expectations, being greater than even those of Carthage. Thus was Syracuse reduced after a siege of three years.

Marcellus was much delighted with the hopes of finding in this city the man whose wonderful genius had so long baffled the bravest efforts of the Roman arms; and therefore ordered diligent search to be every where made for Archimedes. A private soldier finding him at last, deeply intent on the solution of some geometrical problem, commanded him to go along with him to Marcellus. Archimedes very quietly begged of the soldier to wait a few moments till he should finish his problem. But the soldier, mistaking his request for an absolute refusal to obey him, stabbed him with his sword on the spot.

Marcellus was extremely grieved for the death of Archimedes; and by the honours paid his memory, plainly evinced the high opinion he entertained of his merit. He gave his body a very pompous funeral, and caused a sumptuous monument to be erected to his memory. He even extended his favour to the relations of Archimedes, on whom he bestowed distinguishing and advantageous privileges. Cicero tells us, that more than 140 years after this event, when the memory of Archimedes was almost lost among his own countrymen, he himself had the curiosity to make inquiry about his

tomb, which after a painful search he had the pleasure at last to find; discovering it by a pillar, whereon was delineated the figure of a sphere and cylinder, with an inscription on the foot of it, pointing out the proportion that a sphere bears to a cylinder of the same base and altitude, which is that of 2 to 3; a proposition that was discovered and demonstrated by Archimedes.

The transactions at Syracuse, after its reduction by the Romans, are not very interesting, and, as well as the affairs of Greater Greece, fall more properly under the Roman history than that of Greece. The whole island of Sicily, after Syracuse was taken, became a Roman province; but continued nevertheless to be governed by its own proper usages and constitutions, in the same manner as before its subjection.

CONSIDERABLE PLACES IN GREATER GREECE.

In Greater Greece, history takes notice of three famous cities in the neighbourhood of Tarentum, viz.

1. *Crotona*, a Greek colony founded by Miscellus chief of the Achæans. This was the birth-place of Milo the celebrated wrestler, thence called *The Crotonian*.

2. *Sybaris*, an Achæan colony likewise, and in the same province with Crotona. This city, in process of time, became very powerful and rich; but its excessive wealth occasioned the most shameful corruption of manners among its inhabitants, who passed their whole time in public diversions, feasts, and debauchery. Their effeminacy and sensuality were so great, as to render them a proverb among the ancients. They would not even permit to reside in their city such tradesmen as made a noise in working. At last faction broke out among them; and the richer sort having been expelled, implored succour of the Crotonians. The Sybarites took the

field, and engaged the Crotonians, commanded by Milo; but were totally defeated. Thenceforward Sybaris was quite deserted.

3. *Thurium*, founded in the neighbourhood of the ancient Sybaris, by an Athenian colony. Here the famous Herodotus fixed his residence. The inhabitants were composed partly of Sybarites, and partly of Athenian soldiers sent to their assistance against the Crotonians.

EMINENT WRITERS, PHILOSOPHERS, ARTISTS, &c.

Pythagoras, the celebrated philosopher, was the founder of the Italic school, which received that appellation from his having settled in that part of Italy called Greater Greece. He was a native of Samos, and spent the more early part of his life in travelling through many countries in pursuit of instruction. With this view, he visited Egypt, Chaldea, and the island of Crete. Finding, on his return from his travels, his native country oppressed by the tyrant Polycrates, he did not choose to settle there; but removed to Crotona, and opened a school which soon grew very famous, the number of his scholars having in a short time increased to 500. This school was in its most flourishing state about the time of Tarquin the last king of the Romans, and the year before Christ 530. For the two first years of their attendance, the scholars of Pythagoras were enjoined a profound silence; but afterwards they had permission to propose their difficulties. Never was a master so highly respected by his scholars; a proof of the great esteem they entertained of his genius. His opinions with them had the authority of so many oracles; and all further doubt was laid aside on these words being pronounced, *αὐτος εἶπεν*: "*The master himself hath said so.*"

Pythagoras thought it an undertaking worthy his wisdom and philosophy, to reclaim the inhabitants of Crotona to sentiments of virtue; and the effects

of his exhortations were, by the account of Justin, truly extraordinary, producing a wonderful reformation among the inhabitants of that city, who were before plunged in the utmost excess of luxury and debauchery; so lively were his representations of the baseness of vice and intemperance on the one hand, and of the beauty and excellency of virtue on the other. To the fair he recommended modesty, and the other qualities becoming the sex; and to the youth respect for their parents. Sobriety he extolled as the mother of virtue; and intreated the youth of both sexes to lay aside the splendid and unnecessary ornaments of dress, as being the principal instruments of corruption. He inspired rulers and magistrates with principles of honour, with integrity, and with a zealous attachment to the public welfare. In a word, he in a manner made new men of the inhabitants of Crotona. Nor were his virtuous labours confined to that city alone. He visited all the neighbouring towns with the same laudable intentions. It was a maxim of Pythagoras, that the whole aim of philosophy ought to be to render men more acceptable in the sight of the Deity, by inducing them to practise all the virtues of humanity.

Pythagoras introduced into the western world a doctrine which he had imbibed somewhere in the east, where, by all accounts, it has prevailed from the most early ages, namely that of the metempsychosis, or transmigration of souls; which taught, that on the death of men, their souls passed into and animated other bodies. If, for example, a man was vicious and wicked, his soul animated the body of some unclean animal, and passed through a progress of misery proportioned to his crimes in this life. Hence Pythagoras and his followers religiously abstained from eating flesh, lest perhaps they should devour that of some of their former friends and acquaintances. In all probability, the accounts of this philosophy transmitted to us are very im-

perfect ; and in nothing, perhaps, more so than its real scope and meaning. Let us, therefore on this point, as on every other of the same kind, be extremely cautious in condemning.

Antiquity has handed down a thousand impertinent fables with respect to this great philosopher, which it were more impertinent still to mention here. According to Justin, Pythagoras died at Metapontum, in a very advanced age. The reputation of his school was very great, and produced many philosophers of distinguished reputation, who divided themselves into a variety of different sects.

Charondas, a scholar of Pythagoras, delivered to the inhabitants of Thurium a system of excellent laws, of which the following were some of the most remarkable. Whoever entered into a second marriage, after having children of a former, was deprived of his privilege of becoming a senator ; those convicted of calumny were ignominiously dragged through the city : public masters were to be appointed for the instruction of the youth, without fee or reward ; for he thought ignorance the source of all vice ; the education of orphans was to be intrusted to their relations on the mother's side ; and the care of their fortunes to those on the father's side ; deserters in war were condemned to appear publicly in the city for the space of three days in woman's dress.

Zaleucus, another scholar of Pythagoras, was the legislator of the Locrians. The preamble to his laws is much celebrated. He desires the citizens to keep in mind, that gods do exist ; and assures them, that the chief of the gods is the original fountain of all laws. Then he sets down regulations for the preservation of unanimity and peace in social intercourse. He exhorts judges, by all means to divest themselves of prejudices, whether arising from friendship or animosity. He prohibits women from wearing magnificent apparel, or from using such superfluous and luxurious ornaments as

jewels and bracelets, which were allowed to prostitutes alone ; and he delivers nearly the same prohibition with respect to the men.

THE END.

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